

FALSE COM- plaints.

Or

The Censure of an vnthank-
full mind, the labour of Carolus Pas-
calius translated into English

by W. C.

A worke very learned and fit for all E-
states in this age of vnneccessarie discontent-
ments, shewing how all complaine, but
all without cause.

Repub. nunquam expedit ut sit Ingrata.
Symmachus.



AT LONDON.

Printed by Humfrey Lownes, and are to be sold at the
West-dore of Paules,

1605.

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Requie. sumptuous extent to fit nature.
Sunderland.



At London.
Printed by Iohnes Iamies, and are to be sold at the
Well-dore Office.
1605.



To the Right Grati- ous and Noble Prince Henric, &c.

Seeing all affections are imployd
to pay a tributarie duty, to that
great happinesse, whereunto all
are bownd; let it not seeme
strang to any, if (after al others,
and in an other manner) I pre-
sume, both to testifie my humble dutie, & to make
offer of that seruice, which I am able to perform:
I haue done in this, little; sauing only, giuing occa-
sion to your Princely towardnes, for the increasing
of both the tongues, to labour in this kind: there
are few arguments, which carrie with them more
varietie, better inuention, sounder iudgment,
then this doth. And being a disease both common

The Epistle Dedicatorie

and dangerous, fit for all men to learne, howv it
may bee cured; if your princely Wisedome vouch-
safe but to reade this translation, and compare it
at sometimes with the author himselfe, you shall
easily see, the excellencie of the English tongue, not
refusing to expresse with much proprietie the ete-
gancie of the hardest latine stile; and withall, dis-
cern howv all men, are almost wearie of their own
happines, & how most, most vntankfully cōplain,
that haue least cause: It vvas not (though but a
translation) a labour unfit for me, seeing it was
so commended vnto me, as a paines to you, and
for you. And considering that your princely for-
wardnes, promising great hope, in the perfection
of all Vertues hath beene already thus blest, to
receiue in your infancy a Testamentary Councell,
full of the wisest precepts, that any man, euer ut-
tered out of the seate of a King, since the dayes of
Salomon: vouchsafe (Noble Prince) to accept
these, though farre weaker then the other (es per-
aduēture, such as shal find litle in you to reform of
this error) yet they will shew vnto your Highnesse
a great part of that disease, wherewith the World
at this day, is so much troubled. But howsoeuer;
being

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

being for this time, all that, wherein I can expresse my humble affection, to your princely wisdom: I doubt not, but your Highnes, wil (both) pardon it, & accustome your selfe, in your yong yeares, to a diligent consideration of all those unspeakable blessings, that are heaped vpon you; and doubtlesse out of this fountaine of thankesfulnes, shall flow continuall streames of far greater blessings. For which there are, and shall be many Zealous prayers, as incense offered daily vpon vnto God, in your behalfe, to whome nothing can bee wanting, wherby, in all princely Graces, you may not exceed all that haue beene before you: If you your selfe (which is not to be feared) be not wanting to your self; thus desiring, that from aboue, your Highnes may be continually blessed with all the blessings of Heauen, and earth: I doe humbly craue pardon, and take my leaue.

Your Highnes in all dutie,

W. C.



To the Reader.



O tell you, that I haue translated, this booke shall bee an honor to the Author, but a hazard (peradventure) of your opinions to my selfe. But seeing a desire to benefit others, must not looke at those curious obseruations, which displease some: I thought there was small losse, if I benefitted the better sort, though I gaine vnto my selfe the scoffing reprehension of some few; there are in my opinion few bookes of a more generall information or fitter for this age; this age, this vnthankful age, wherein all states (almost) are infected with this poyson, to be discontent; and

To be Reader.

and by reason of their discontentments to be vnthankfull; for there is no euill, that man sooner apprehendeth, then the opinion of his own; which maketh him (for the most part) an vniust esteemer of what good, he hath receiued, & so consequētly vnthankfull vnto him that gaue it. If I could cure this disease, this naturall and contagious disease (which groweth by the increafe of sence and decay of vertue) I should in some thinges reforme their iudgements, whom I know to bee farre wiser then my selfe. I will not tell you (a thing too well known) how all conditions are vnthankfull, but I will say with my Author (which may serue to cure them) that the great and awfull ruler of men, times, and things; the liberall and wise disposer of all that are annexed to mans life, *Knoweth how to deuide, much better, then wee can chuse.* In this Treatise, thou shalt find much rypened wisedōe to cure this sicknesse. If thou vnderstandest the Author himselfe, reade him, as he wrote; for he receiueh but darkenesse, and a blemish from my penne, Faults which I doe vnto him, yet against my will.

To the Reader.

will. If thou vnderstandest him not, read this, for it is better to heare a good tale euill told, then not at all; it is labour to me, more then to thy selfe; If thou thinkest, that I am worthe small thanks, I know, in this I deserue as little blame; vnthankfulnessse is that fault, which is reprobued in this Treatise; I would bee sorrie this fault should bee in thee, if it be, it is dangerous, seeke to cure it, accept this well, and to mee, thou art thankfull enough; greater benefits require greater thanks; consider to whom thou art most bound, and make him the contemplation of thy thankfulnessse; so shalt thou make benefits, not to be losses; nor thy selfe vnhappy.

This which thou readeest translated into thy owne tongue (for thy vnderstanding) is the worke of a verie wise, and great man; and such a one (as in my weake opinion) to Chronicle the ciuill warres of that great Kingdome *Fraunce*, hath not in the circuit of his large Empire, any more iudiciall, or more eloquent; I thinke a Historie written
by

To the Reader.

by him, would not bee much inferiour to
that of *Tacitus*; whose impenetrable iudg-
ment (doubtlesse) had not been so great, if
he had not set downe great vices striving
with great vertues; much euill, with much
good; all concurring in new gouernours,
what he hath performed in this, toward the
curing of the common disease of vnthank-
fullnesse, thou that readest, maist easely
iudge; and though hee neede not, yet
I craue thy pardon (courtious Reader) and
so end, farewell, the 2. of October, 1604.

W. C.

The Contents of the Chapters of this booke.

1 A pſeface containing the reaſons of undertaking this treatiſe.

2 The ſaine of an vnthankfull minde is from hence, that man is ignorant of Gods benefits, and his owne worthineſſe.

3 In the perſon of the baſe, he reckoneth his baſenes, and from hence is angrie, and complaineth againſt God for it.

4 Faſely he complaineth of his baſe parentage, who by the helpe of vertue may obtaine honor and renowne.

5 He that boaſteth of his petigree, is many wayes vnthankfull to god.

6 The Inſolencie of him is confuted, who boaſteth of his kindred, not of his vertue.

7 The poore man is vnthankful, who vpbraideth God, which hath made him poore.

8 In this I teach, that god hath not giuen leſſe to the poore then to the rich.

9 The rich man is no leſſe vnthankfull then the poore; & of three ſorts of rich men, Delicate, Prodigall, Sordide, and here in this Chapter of Delicate rich me.

10 Of the Prodigall rich man.

11 Of the Sordid and couetous rich man.

12 Amongſt vnthankful perſons, I find him who is troubled with ſickenes.

13 Him that is worne with greiſe, in that he is vnthankfull, I neither pardon him, nor ſpeake him faire.

14 He alſo that is in perfect health is many wayes vnthankful.

15 Kings & Princes are vnthankfull who reckon vp what eſtimation men make of their calling, to take occaſion from hence, to ſhow how falſe it is, & how iuſtly he may complaine as being euill dealt with all.

16 Heare

The Contents.

16 Here the Prince goeth about to extenuate the opinion which the common people haue of his souerainty. for he proueth that he is compassed with miseries, that men may see in comparison of others how little he is bound to God.

17 The prince proceedeth to reckon up those things which may diminish mens opinions of his felicity.

18 Here I show by how many benefits the prince is bound to God; and in all these that he sheweth himselfe vnthankfull:

19 I doe here admonish the prince that intending those things which appertaine to his calling, he shewes himselfe thankful; and mindfull of gods benefits.

20 To these former I annex more argumentes that the prince may learne by them to acknowledge Gods goodnes & his great fauors toward him.

21 Here I show how this sinne of vnthankfulness is ingrafted in mans nature, in that, children are no lesse vnthankfull then others.

22 Here I do teach the Child how he may lay aside this infection, and shew himselfe thankful vnto God.

23 Here I doe teach that women are no lesse vnthankfull, then those whom I haue remembred:

24 Here the woman is diligently admonished, that omitting all vniust complaints against God, she acknowledge, that the benefits vpon her are not lesse then those bestowed vpon men.

25 The number of vnthankfull persons, none more increase then he that is of mans estate as appeareth by his vnthankfull complaining speech in complainning of the world:

26 All the former reasons which concerne mans estate are confuted, & he is seriously admonished to be thankful and so acknowledge Gods benefits:

27 Among vnthankfull persons I account the ould man, whom neither the plenty nor the greatnes of Gods benefits: nor any wisdom gathered out of long experience can reclayme from this vnthankfulness:

The Contents.

28 The oulde man is blamed for his complaint, and admonished to acknowledge Gods benefites; anen in that respect, that he is oulde and neare vnto his grane.

29 I doe proceede to shew vnto the oulde man all those seuerall benefites, which God hath beaped vpon him.

30 Of those that are vnthankefull to men:

31 Of the punishment of vnthankefull persons:

32 Euerie benefite receiued ought to be requited; and how it may be.

Laus Deo.





A Preface Contain- ing the reasons of undertaking this Treatise.

CHAP. I.



When I consider, why every man thinks himself euill dealt witha I, that hee is, that which God would haue him to be (Great & Right Honor.) (and that which is more worth and better then all titles) (right veruious): I finde no other reason; but that every mans vnthankfull mind towards God, is the fountaine of this euill. For many are most sparing, but most, most vniust esteemers.

of his benefits: not so much accounting those things which they haue receiued to be benefits, as those things which they haue not receiued, to bee losses; wee passe all moderation with our shamelesse wishes, whilst whatsoeuer (foolishly) we couet wickedly, we hope; and whatsoeuer we so hope for, that with vnsatiable eyes, and greedy vnlimited thoughts wee feede vpon. From hence is our impatience, from hence are the perpetuall complaints of men, from hence are the frantick & wicked speeches of railing impiety, from hence is that mutuall rancour that burneth inwardely; In one word, there is no worde so common in our mouthes, as these cogitations are in our minds. *O vnaquall and Vniust Lott, howe hast thou aduauised him without all merit vnto a hye place, whilst thou holdest mee who am (many wayes) more worthy, in lowe estate;* These and such like tearmes, wee repiningly vtter by reason of our rashnesse, and whilst in nothing we thinke humbly, in all things wee ouerweiningly flatter our selues; accounting whatsoeuer wee receiue, not to be *giuen*, but *payde*. And although no man be so impudent, that hee dare openly accuse God; yet that which they speake not, they either murmur or conceale in the secret of their thoughtes, and whilst euery man bitterly complaines of his lot that is not, he doth irreligiously thinke of God, who truly is; and whose name hee concealeth his power and Maiesty he despiseth. This inborn impiety with
mans

mans nature, I pursue with this labour in this treatise, neither do I it so much to confute inconsiderat and wicked speeches, as to controule secret and impure thoughts; for from wicked thoughts arise infected and polluted words, and therefore to suppress those, is to repress these. Neither will I circumuent or treacherously vndermine this fault, but deale plainly, not deceitfully; I will lay open the deformities of this sinne, I will pull vp the rootes of it, the boughes and branches I will cut off. Neither haue I proceeded more sloughfully in this taske, for that as soone as the title of this booke is seene, I know many either disdainfully will repine, or (as the manners of most are) proudly scorning will say, what can there be in this argument either witty, or learned? Nay, what is there not here rather cold, frozen, worne, & common? For this argument is vsually withall bitterness handled of the Preachers at this day, and plentifully in those bookes, which euery vulgar eye may read. And besides peraduenture they will say, these are but the fragments of some auncient wits, as the Tragedies of *Aesculus* were of *Homer*. I confesse, I am not ignorant, that the Argument of his treatise, must passe deprived of his chiefe commendation, and is vnfit to shew any exquisite learning, vnpleasant to the eare, and too low & humble, to participate with fame. And least any thing should happen newe or vnexpected; besides all these, I haue considered with my selfe, the seuerity and distastes of Readers at this day;

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day; the delicacies of mens eyes, and eares; their whisperings and secret reprooves, that resolutely despising these, I might passe them over. With me the necessitie of this meditation hath only preuailed, and that alone hath imposed this labour vpon mee. Neither can the rumours of the common sort, or the darke cloudes of secret estimation, hinder mee from obseruing those things which are fit, or from bridling (as far as I am able) these impieties, vndoubtedly the best men, whose vertues (though with farre distance it is honorable (euen creepingly) to follow; haue bestowed most of their leasure to this end. Neither haue I from hence a confidence to ouertake the, but a loue to follow them. Neither is there in this, any ostentation of nouelty, to stirre vp or feede any mans curiositie. Scarce shall I lay in this any thing, *Famous, newe, or as yet unspoken by others*, there is little pleasant to the reader, or hearer; because I affect nothing lesse then curious trimming; I would please; I confesse if I could, but I know not to smoothe; I labour wholly to profit. I affect no name from hence. I do not ambitiously wooe the voices of the learned, nor couet the applause of the multitude; I know these things are reserved for those wits that mount hier. For my selfe, who in humility scarce creepe, it is sufficient not to be blamed; not to be prouoked; whilst thus I labour to make some defence against those troopes of vices, that are euery where dispersed. To this I exhort all, against whome these

these monsters bark, chiefly *vnthankfulnesse*, which is the worst of all; No sinne looner doth estrange God from Man then this; by no enemy, are we more cruelly and more treacherously undermined, then by this; with this monster, man can haue no trust, but deceitful, no peace, but deadly. Our armour therefore must neuer be put off; as euer being in the sight of an enemy, most watchfull to ouerthrow vs. No combate is of such importance, no conflict of more resolution, nor any that requireth more valour? In this victory are al those things, that are propounded to bee the reward of piety. But there is no conquest that is harder, later, or more doubtfull. For this poyson of *vnthankfulnesse* (being pluckt vp) often groweth againe; beeing subdued, often rebelleth; conquereth vs often, when we thinke, we haue overcome it: to conclude, *vnthankfulnesse* is neuer extinguisht in vs, but by a *piety most perseuering and euerlasting*. Wherefore it is fit, that all vertuous and religious minds do stirre vp, and arme themselves, in the vnderstanding and prouision of such danger; and with continuall and earnest prayers obtaine of his deuine goodnesse, necessary defences against such an enemy; He erreth, that in this, waiteth vpon others; This businesse admitteth no delayes, here euery man must be a spur, and a guide to himselfe. Euery man must stirre vp and awake himselfe with excellent examples. Here euery man must be an example to others, and whatsoeuer helpe is neces-

sary for his owne safety, that he must imploy, for a comon good. There is no vertue if it be seasonably vsed, wherein there is not some helpe and aduantage for this victory; Often times those, whose chardge is least, both in the Church and Common-wealth, if they labour that they may ouercome; if with wishes, yowes, indeauours, if with all diligence they fauour this businesse, they are reckoned amongst Conquerours. Thinke (Right Honorab'le) thou that art the light of this age, that amongst these I account my selfe; if I be not in this conflict a captaine of approued valour (as I confesse I am not) yet in my holy wishes, I am a faithfull souldier, who respect not my selfe onely, but seeke for a common good, to aduance that chardge, that is layd vpon me. Now I earnestly intreate your Honour to parronize these papers (how meane soeuer they are) if you thinke they haue any publique profit in them; the thing is small, yet it attempteth a great worke; and the matter at the first sight is easie, but if you looke nearer, of more weight and seuerity. Whatsoeuer it bee, it shall receiue no small authoritie, from your authority. For all men almost that know you, so admire your vnspotted, your humble and sincere behaviour, your graue and excellent wisdom, that they reuerence you wholly, as some sacred and saving power. God hath bestowed so many great and excellent ornaments vpon you, compassed you about with so many rich, strong and Honorable defences,

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C 2

CHAP





*The staine of an vnthankfull minde is from hence,
that man is ignorant of Gods benefits and
his owne worthinesse.*

CHAP. 2.

WHosoever vnderstands, how hee ought,
not to accuse his estate and condition,
but how thankfull hee ought to be to-
ward God, hath ascended the highest
step of piety; where daily lesse and lesse he is prouo-
ked with thole spurs, with which men are driuen
(through their corrupt affections): from hence pro-
ceeded thole vnwise speeches of God, and thole vn-
iust complaints against him. But how hath every
man not onely not attained to this, but not indea-
uoured toward it. For who is there almost that
accounteth not himselfe unhappy? That is, that
profelleth not, himselfe vnthankfull? Showe
me him, who hath that equall temper of minde,
who dooth measure his owne happinesse, in that
measure that GOD accepteth, and not rather
intolerably

False Complaints, &c.



insolently, & with pride, treadeth vnder foote, those benefits, wherewith God hath loaded him. If men could intreat of themselves to lay aside this pride, they should likewise lay aside their ignorance, and their eyes should be opened; those eyes, those equal eyes, wherewith they should looke aboute, & within themselves.

Themselves, that is, that great argument of this deuine goodnesse. For man is the glasse of God, wherein he behouldeth himselfe, and his benefites; truly *benefits*, because they are *free*, and indeede receiued of vs, before they are either thought of, or expected by vs. And indeede benefits, neuer enough knowne, neuer enough vnderstood, or esteemed of vs. O man, it is nothing, that God hath made a difference betwixt thee, and the liuelesse, and sencelesse creatures? from those that are without reason? from all those who are created to this end: to bestow all their benefits vpon thee: to admire, and worshipping thee? to thee, and for thy vse, the Starres arise: they arise, as to their better: they strue to compass thee about with their heavenly light, to follow thee in obedience, with their fauourable aspects, because they see thee to be man, and in man God. If this heavenly army, serue thee with such diligence, as being appointed to thy vse, what ought, and must thou doe, in the midst whereof thou art placed? dost thou not know these things to be appointed for thy seruice? Thou commandest the Sea; thou rulest the

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False Complaints, &c.

insolently, & with pride, treadeth vnder foote, moie benefits, wherewith God hath loaded him. If men could intreat of themselves, to lay aside this pride, they should likewise lay aside their ignorance, and their eyes should be opened; those eyes, those equall eyes, wherewith they should look about, & within themselves.

Themselves, that is, that great argument of this deuine goodnesse. For man is the glasse of God, wherein he behouldeth himselfe, and his benefites, truly *benefites*, because they are free, and indeede receiued of vs, before they are either thought of, or expected by vs. And indeede benefites, neuer enough knowne, neuer enough vnderstood, or esteemed of vs. O man, it is nothing, that God hath made a difference betwixt thee, and the liuelesse, and senselesse creatures? from those that are without reason? from all those who are created to this end: to bestow all their benefites vpon thee: to admire, and worshipping thee? to thee, and for thy vse, the Starres arise: they arise, as to their better; they strive to compasse thee about with their heavenly light, to follow thee in obedience, with their fauourable aspects, because they see thee to be man, and in man God will this heavenly army, serue thee with such diligence, as being appointed to thy vse, what ought, and must. those doe, in the midst whereof thou art placed: dost thou not know these things to be appointed for thy seruice? Thou commandest the Sea, thou rulest the

vanisq

earth, thou searchest the secrets of it, thou trauellest to the furthest, and most vnknowne parts of it: whatsoeuer the ayre, the earth or the sea containes, whatsoeuer the flouds, or the fennes haue nourished, or whatsoeuer is contained in this rich warehouse, the globe of the Moone, all that is appointed for thy vse: wilt thou looke at things past, these are to thee present, these things that are present are set (as it were) before thine eyes, things that are to come (an vnfallible argument of thy Diuinitie) thou collectest, gatherest, diuineest, and representest, as if they were present. In one word, that which is called the *World*, is thy house, built, and euerie way richly furnished for thee: there is no part of it but is passable, knowne, & wide open to thee, as to his owner. Now it remaines for thee, that thou know thy selfe what thou art.

If thou know thy selfe, then thou shalt vnderstand, that this great frame, and curious building, is bestowed vpon thee, wherein, thou maist gouerne, wherein, thou maist teach thy selfe, to bee worthie of this dignitie: where thou mayst reward him, that is thy rewarder, with *holinesse*, and a *thankesfull minde*. In this thy dignitie, to represent the dignitie of God in humaine shape, thou shalt then (I say) vnderstand, that thou art placed ouer this household as a Lord (I had almost said) as a God. These are thy birth-rights: this is that excellencie, wherunto thou art borne. Whereunto if thou labourest to be equall in the height of thy minde, then thou shalt plainly

plainly see, all these things placed below thy great-
 nes. Thou shalt see nothing without thee, greater
 then thy selfe, nothing shall distract thee, puffe thee
 vp, cast thee downe, or make thee sad. Then
 thou shalt deride so many foolish com-
 plaintes, wherewith men doe vex
 themselves, and their
 liues.

(*) (*)

CHAP.





In the person of the base, hee reckoneth his baseness; and from hence is angrie, and complaineth against God for it.

CHAP. 3:

Heare this man complaine, that hee is low borne, or rather *basely*; alas (saith he) wheresoeuer I am, there my baseness offereth it selfe vnto mee, not so much a petiwader to make me desire to liue, as an vpbayder that I do liue; that I am of obscure parents, it maketh me blush, and the Nobilitie to contemn me. I liue obscurely, as an vnknown part of the base multitude, neither doth my health, or strength, so much helpe me, nor any other thing that is bestowed vpon me, as my base parentage doth cast me downe. I am ashamed, that I haue no honor from the commendations of my Auncestors; it is my reproach, that I am borne amongst the multitude, amongst those, who are more safely troden vpon, then the

the wormes. Before we were, and hee that is borne
in high place, in this we were both equall, that wee
neither were, both of vs lay then hidde in that bot-
tomles darkenes, of those secretes that were to come;
but as soone as we began to be, hee obtained a fa-
mous, and honorable, and I a base, and vnworthy
condition. Alas, with what desert, either of him or
mine? surely none; what vnequall, and vniust power
shall I call that, which hath compassed him newe
borne, and vnknowing it with so great and glorious
a light, whilst, I (vnderfervedly) do liue in darkenesse?
This is the first iniurie, and not to be forgotten, that
I am vnfortunatly borne; that he hath auncestours full
of honor, and I full of basenesse; that from him, all
impediments are remoued, that tend to honor; and
that I must creepe through obscure and vnkowne
pathes; and through so many lettes must in-
deuout to that which is doubt-

full, and most vncer-

taine.

(*)

D

CHAP.



*Falsely he complayneth of his base parentage who
by the helpe of vertue may obtaine
honour and re-
nowne.*

CHAP. 4:

Nay, and is it so? Darest thou call thy selfe
base, whose kindred is with the Hea-
uens, dost thou call that blood obscure
and vnworthie, from whence Kings may
proceede? Hast thou no auncestours, who mayst
(if thou tendest thither) passe along in the steppe of
euerie man, that is excellent? I demaunde of thee,
which is that ignoble and base multitude, wherein
thou art borne? What, of brute beasts? Men are a
Heauenly off-spring; those are they (say you) which
without controulement are troden downe: you
speake of men, that are innocent, and accepted of
God: with what strength soeuer they might haue,
chuse rather to suffer, then to doe iniurie. Oh, these
are they, amongst whome, are the auncient, and

VNCOR-

vn corrupted manners. His condition and minde
(you say) where both alike before wee were.
What, do you say there was a time, when neither
of you were? yea rather, if you esteeme your selfe by
that part, which truely is, you are not now born.
Thou hast a soule deriued from that euerlastinge
diuinitie, which hath more truely beautified thee,
with this title to bee called man, then these sinewes,
flesh and bones, taken out of the earth, which are
truely earth. All of vs, are equally an off-spring of
the Gods, and therefore in respect of this originall,
ye are both equall. Thou art nothing I say, whosoe-
uer thou art, lesse, or inferiour to him, whosoeuer he
is. If any thing make a difference betwixt you, it is
that earth, wherewith you are both couered. And is
it this that troubleth thee? Doe you esteeme this a
thing of that worth, that it should make you repent
you of your condition? or rather if there be any ble-
mish in this earthly parentage; why doe you not
blotte it out with your vertuous arts? If there be any
darkenesse, disperse it with a better light; if any base-
nes, aduance it with vertue. Surely euerie excellent
thing is lowe borne; and those, whome venue first
made eminent, she brought out of darkenesse. From
hence they sent out most bright beames (as the Sun
out of a cloud or storme) looke vpon those greate
lights of Antiquitie (those famous professours,
I meane of wisdom, and eloquence) and
others excellent in all other Artes, Sciences,

and learning; few of these but were meanely borne,
and yet haue ingrafted their names to fame; that
fame which we see is the inseperable companion of
immortalitie.

To Aesop Athens did that monument erect,

And plac'd the seruant on eternall ground;

That vertue might to honor then direct,

And not that greatness which in birth is found.

Let me not remember other great & (for deserts)
famous names. I meane the great performers of
warres, and builders of large Empires, who wrassling
out of obscure births, from lowe beginnings, haue
attained the height of things, compelling all things
and men, to yeeld vnto them with vertue, glorie, and
felicity. These are they who were the famous Au-
tors of that, which afterward was called the ancient
progeny, which haue made men beleue that they
are not borne of man, but of God: who after they had
made the newnesse of their birth, great with vertue
and admiration, they made themselves to be imita-
ted of all, and Imitable to few. These I account grea-
ter, then their posterities, and in the opinion of wise
men, much more honorable, in that the giver is
greater then the receiuer, and the patterne then him
that imitates, vainely we deriue our fluggishnesse to
our kindred; But he is noble enough, who hath that
in him, whereby he may make himselfe noble: ney-
ther

ther is vertue, from our stocke, but bonitarie. Vertue
 the onely dooth adorne men: It is that onely, which
 maketh the euers flowing and lasting streame of Nob
 bility, Honour, and Glory. Who can therefore
 deny, but that humilitie or baseness, in whosoever
 it bee, is much bound to vertue, who only enableth
 all men, to become Honorable and excellent; Hee
 that carieth himselfe worthy his auncestors, dooth
 that which doth become him, but he that anglieth his
 honour to others, is to his posterity a sacred dyety.
 Ridiculously you object obscurity to those, who do
 draw after them an excellency, and whose late vpr
 ising dooth eminently shine, amongst those that are
 excellent, for not to bee degenerate, and the light
 we haue receiued from our auncestors, to conuey to
 our posterity, although it be worthy prayse, yet it
 is common: this I say as it is more famous, so it is
 more difficult. This is that, which Honorable and
 vauall vertue dooth make, as this it affecteth, to
 this it directeth itselfe, that to persons places and
 things vnknowne and obscure it may giue Nobilitie.
 From hence we may conclude, not the lower a man
 is, but the worse he is the more obscure. He is said
 an obscure kindred, as an ynnoble puddle, from
 whence none can pull a plant, but he to whom ver
 tue doth reach her hand, and whom she undertaketh
 to aduance and increase: If thus propoundest this,
 to ascribe thy greatness onely to vertue, nor anie o
 ther sinister means, by proceeding thou shalt bee

innicht, honored, learned. And to conclude, then it shall bee manifest vnto thee, how vnruly thou hast complained of God, by whose commandment thou art borne in that condition, which with much disdain thou callest basenesse. Furthermore he, whom thou esteemest noble, doth bring forth the old and wormeaten monuments of his aunccestours, in this more vehement vpbraidings of the vnworthinesse of their posteritie. And thou, to whome, thy aunccestours haue left no outward ornament, whereof thou maist boast, draw forth out of the generous, vertuous, and noble heart (the liuely image of the soule) true vertue; which thou maist deliuer to thy posterity to be imitated, subject to no age, to no forgetfulness. By this meanes thou shalt rise to honour, and with infallible arguments, leane thy true Nobility witnessed, and sealed to euilasting posterities. From hence maist thou see how much thou art bound to GOD, who hath ingrafted that in thee, whereby thou indeaourest thy selfe, thou maist be excellent. And if thy affections bee not so erected, nor thy liueliness so awaked, if thou doost not affect the highest dignities, if thou dost not aspire to these large advantages of praise, yet indeaouour that thou maist be found in the second rank. At the least compole thy selfe to *Innocency* and *Simplicity*; vertues no lesse acceptable to God, then the other that are more conspicuous. With these adorne thy selfe, and thy obscure family; so shall it come to passe

passe that in this humility, thou shalt finde matter
 large and sufficient, to make thee thankfull, which
 though they bee not exquisite, or curious, yet they
 shall not want their commendation, being private
 and sincere, and by so much more acceptable to him,
 who wil be worshipped sincerely and in truth. Thus
 by thy example and invitation, the rest of the vn-
 thankfull multitude, shall learne to acknowledge,
 and worship that diuine benignity; neither art thou
 onely vnthankfull, for there is no mortall

man that lyeth not sicke of this

Infirmity.

(*)

an opinion of a false greatness; From whence has be-
 come, I remember, I was, which possible him in
 be maintained at, I could not turn into counsel,
 God, as he that is true, I know, neither, in
 tations, and does not, the benefits of
 In one word, he, I am, in foolish cogi-
 and we shaketh in, I am, I made him,
 insolency, he, I am, I wear his cruel
 on the face of, I am, I am, I am, I am
 name, I am, I am, I am, I am, I am
 with God, I am, I am, I am, I am, I am



He that doubteth of his pedigree is many

ways vnthankfull to

GOD.

creely vnthankfull, for there is no mortall

CHAP. 5.

See him also who swelleth with the long catalogue of his auncestours, to be no lesse vnthankfull to God, then he that is borne darkely & of obscure parents. And although he doth not expostulate with Gods condition, in grudging and complaining tearmes, which usually are vttered from opinion & sence of misery, yet whilst with contempt and insolency, he disdaineth others, he knoweth his euill and vnthankfull heart, towards him that made him. In one word, hee who swelleth with foolish cogitations, and dooth as ill interpret the benefits of God, as he that is most vnthankfull; neither can it be manuailed at, seeing he shutteth into counsell, *Pride, Ignorance, Slownesse*, which possesse him with an opinion of a false greatness; From hence hee be-
ginneeth

Ginnereth to esteeme, and to loue himselfe, and in the fruition of this perswasion to despise others. This multitude (that is the common sort) both of town & country, it is strange how he disdaineth. It is the property of a sluggish insolent disposition, to think that he hath right to vse any man without respect as a vassall. For (saith he) I was no sooner a man, but I was borne Honorable. If I do respect both my parents, I am able to deriue my petigree from auntier memory, and Honorable families: From hence I haue noble, and many affinities, vpon which I may leane and support my selfe. My riches and estate are answerable to these; and that which chiefly contents me, I see base persons borne to scarcety, and the bondslaues of pouerty. This man drudgeth continually at plough: that man all the day long sitteth at some sordide trade to gaine his liuing: An other man he buieth cheape, to sell deare: and to that end faileth with danger into forraine seas: Another, hee studieth vnpleasing learning, to make a gain of in the market; I do not meane in the market where things are sold, but the market of gainefull knowledge, and the mercenary tongue, who euer finds out of other mens businesse a good aduantage to enrich themselves. And the minds of all these, are base; and so this *basenesse* are ioyned *deceits*; and as brokers to these *deceits* *vntruths*. Now as I scorne all these courses, so I liue as a King amongst them; and that which these labour for, to that am I borne. There-

E

fore

fore my mind is not, as euery base fellowes; grone-
ling; but haury, erected, and full of high thoughts.
For it weareth not it selfe away, in these sordide and
obscure things, nor liues intangled in any base gaine.
This is my excellent prerogatiue, that I am behol-
ding to none. And other men before I was borne
were in my debt, that men may vnderstand that I am
not borne to my substance, but my substance to me.
Besides I haue the best aduantages to rise to honour,
to come to great preferments; and what other men
can wish for, that can I no sooner hope for, but ob-
taine it. Last of all (which is the chiefeft of all) that
other men do liue in safety, it is by the meanes of me,
and such as I am. For if any publique danger arise,
then is the common safety required and expected, at
our hands. It belongeth to our honours, to defende
our countries, and offend our enemies. It belongeth
to vs, to haue the chardge, and the leading of them.
Vve performe these businesss, as with the aduance-
ment of inferiours and meane persons, so with the in-
larging and increafe of our owne Honours.

From hence are deriued speciall ornamentes
to persons and families; from hence riches, au-
thority; from hence feare and reuerence amongst
all; who will not confesse, that hee, that is no-
bly borne, blest as it were againe, mighty in follow-
ers: great in honour: strong in power; liues the life,
and the only liuing life; and that he hath cause suf-
ficient, to gratulate his owne good fortune, for his

owne

owne happinesse. And that hee may proceede, to
make experience, of his owne felicity, in all things
that himselfe desireth: therefore freed from al cares,
I will take what pleasure so euer may bee had: I am
purposed to tast all that may season my life. Tush a-
way with those sowre fellowes, which vrge (if wee
would heare them) harsh and seuerer admonitions &
doo odiously impose vpon vs, I know not what sad
wisedome gotten out of schooles and hid in bookes;
whereupon they often knit there seuerer browes, as
if the common-wealth did lye vpon them: all which
for mine owne part, I esteeme not a rush; and to say
truth, to me there is nothing more odious, then these
men, whom I may very well call ditchers to dig out
truth of, and torments to vex other mens simpli-
cities; for my owne part I am taught suf-
ficiently, by my Honorable
auncestours.

(* *)

E 2

CHAP.



*The insolency of him is confuted who bo-
steth of his kindred, not of his*

Vertue.

CHAP. I.

See thy disdainfull spirit, and heare thy words and the discoverers of thy folly; & to conclude thy blindnesse, and vnthankfull mind; which thou confidently opposest against the benefits of God, least thou shouldest confesse them. So farre hath thy disdain wholly belotted thee; so farre hath thy sinister disposition spotted thy faire estate and honorable condition: thou saist thou wert a man and noble, both at once; thou dost please mee in that at the first entrance, thou confessest thy selfe a man; although I knowe this speech, rather fell from thee vnawares, then was spoken with any consideration. For in that worde, thou art putt in minde of thy beginning, which is common to thee with the lowest of the common sort; And although thou
contemne

contemne him in respect of thy selfe, as one growing out of the dunghill; yet he hath the same beginnings of humanitie, that thou hast; His life is to bee run in the same race, and with the same course, must he finish the period of his mortalitie; & to conclude, he flyeth aloft with the same wings of eternitie that thou doest. In one word thou art not more a man then hee (or to say more plainely) hee is as much a man as thou. But thou proceedest further, to set forth thy selfe, and him, that by comparing, thou maist grow insolent; depressing him, whilst thou advancest thy selfe; esteeming him, as base, and of no reckoning.

Herein, if any man should aske thee, what Nobilitie is, I know thou wilt answer, it is the *Honor and Antiquitie of Kindred*; But I will tell thee some-thing more plainely, and more soundly, that thou who dost admire nothing so much as thy kindred, by which thou growest insolent, yet mayst confesse, to be true: *Nobilitie, I say is an honor due to a vertue eminent, & publikly profitable*; not only in his person, that first doth it, but also in his posterity, which are not adulterate, ingrafted, or degenerous. And therefore *Note*, is one thing, and *Nobilitie* is an other. Many are of *Note*, of whom we are to take heed, as of monsters, but he that is truly *Noble*, it is a vertue, and a dutie, to knowe him. Thou, when thou wert first borne, broughtest no vertue into the worlde with thee, therefore thou mightest be of *Note*, as one

richly borne, and of a great family, but thou couldest not be Noble; but only in the suffrages, and wishes of those, who fauour the name, vertue and posteritie of the Auncestours, from whence thou art descended; and from thence presupposing all these to be in thee. For men are naturally apt, to hope for those vertues in thee, which are promised in thy birth. For all good men (saith *Tullie*) fauour Nobilitie, both, because it is profitable to the Commonwealth, that Noble men be worthy their auncestours, and because the memorie of honorable men, who haue deserued well of the Commonwealth (though dead) doth and ought to preuaile, with vs. And therefore thy Nobilitie, then when thou wert borne, was in hope, not in being, peraduenture in the roote, not yet in the braunches; neither doth alwaies,

The Sonne in equall line,

The Fathers praise succeed.

Now when thou art growne vp, and stronge, I demand, wherein thou dost make men know, that the honorable, and happie vertues of thy famely, are not withered in thee. How shal we vnderstand that thou who art begotten, & borne of great hope dost grow to the glorie of thy auncestours, & that the fruite so much hoped for, doth grow out of thy braunches? Where is thy auncient bloud? Where is the Industrie of thy fore-fathers? Where is the glorie of thy

thy house? I graunt the signes, and tokens of honor, may be receiued either from thy Auncestors, or from the Prince: but *Nobilitie* and honor it selfe, is the rewarde of thy owne vertue. That vertue, which in things acceptable to the people, doubtful, and full of profit, and hazard, at all times, and by all meanes, doth show it selfe; which in the time of peace, and securitie, erecteth the ensignes of pietie, and iustice, wherein all both publike and priuate felicities are contained; and then doth bring forth troppes of all those vertues, which are handmaids to both. And when the Common-wealth, is disquieted with warrs, either at home, or abroad, doth oppose against the enemy, *Fortitude*, and what vertue soeuer is a companion to it, for what vertues, for what prayses art thou to be esteemed? speake boldly. Instead of answer, I see thy doubting: for that which is not, neither can the tongue utter, nor the minde conceiue. Seing therefore thou wilt say nothing, I will answer for thee. But canst thou here? In one word, neither vertue, nor praise, that either I, or thou, or any man els knoweth, is in thee. But goe to, with what right or with what confidence, dost thou vsurpe this same honorable title of *Nobilitie*, which thou admirest in thy selfe, and for which thou thinkest thy selfe so excellent? It is (thou saist) the gift of my auncstours, as are the other signes of *Nobilitie*, whereof I boast. I heare the name; I see the signes; but I desire the thing.

I feare least the auncient honor of thy forefathers, in thy person, be darkened and growen out of vse. If not, as it was first gaine by men, vertuous, and truly valiant, so it ought to be borne againe, in thee, this Nobilitie, which thou boastest to be born with thee: neither can any thinge bee more foolish, then to bee called, that which thou art not. Nothing hath more affinitie with slouth, then to be willing, to be taken for another, then thou art. Nothing is more vniust, then to vsurpe another mans, for thine owne. Nothing is more shameles, then to desire to be esteemed Noble for kindred, not for vertue. Neither is vertue transferred with the same facilitie, that possessions, are to the heyers. Vertue is euerie mans proper, and peculiar good: and whosoever hath not this, doth not only carrie the Idle, but the odious name, and title of Nobilitie. But thou boastest of those, whose posteritie thou art, and desirest men to obserue thy pedigree. Well if I should doe so much for thee, and by degrees go backe with thee, to him whose father first gaue honor to thy familie, peradventure I should bring thee to a beginning, thou wouldest bee ashamed of: why art thou pale? It is auncient, that *Plato saith, Seruants doe come of Kings, and of seruants doe come Kings.* And what maruaile? For vertue her selfe, doth giue bondslaues, oftentimes not only libertie, but Kingdomes. And vertue exposed to the iniurie of fortune, doth best show what euerie man is. And therefore if thou wilt know

what

what thou art, who and how great thou art, defende not thy selfe with this glorious title, borrow not the vertues of others, but bring forth thy own; thou foolishly boastest the benefit of thy stocke, if thou sufferest thy ancestours that are dead, to be better known then thy selfe, that art aliue: Show how much true nobilitie there is in thee, that is, how much vertue in thy minde, how much faith in thy words, and deeds, Show from what stocke thou art. By this meanes shall men esteeme thee in hope greater, for fame better, and for inward vprightnesse, more commendable, that thus honours, may be giuen thee, not thy kindred, thy person, not thy name, thy manners, nor thy ancestours.

*And though thou hast thy auncient praise in store,
Yet not content with glorie of their fame:
Nor boast their vertues that did liue before,
Seek thou thy selfe, for to surpasse the same.*

Kindred and our stocke is like a faire Table, which either may be made more beautifull by a picture, or polluted and defaced with staines. If those things be ioyned to thy birth which do make thy birth greate, the are the praises of thy ancestours renewed; if those things, which do blemish thy stocke, then there is little greatnes in thy kindred, & in those things that are annexed to it; Infamie, & reproach? These are those polluted staines, that deface the Images of our fore-
F fathers,

richly borne, and of a great family, but thou couldest not be Noble; but only in the suffrages, and wishes of those, who fauour the name, vertue and posteritie of the Auncestours, from whence thou art descended; and from thence presupposing all these to be in thee. For men are naturally apt, to hope for those vertues in thee, which are promised in thy birth. For all good men (saith *Tallie*) fauour Nobilitie, both, because it is profitable to the Commonwealth, that Noble men be worthy their auncestours, and because the memorie of honorable men, who haue deserued well of the Commonwealth (though dead) doth and ought to preuaile, with vs. And therefore thy Nobilitie; then when thou wert borne, was in hope, not in being, peraduenture in the roote, not yet in the braunches; neither doth alwaies,

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Now when thou art growne vp, and stronge, I demand, wherein thou dost make men know, that the honorable, and happie vertues of thy family, are not withered in thee. How shal we vnderstand that thou who art begotten, & borne of. great hope dost grow to the glorie of thy auncestours, & that the fruite so much hoped for, doth grow out of thy braunches? Where is thy auncient bloud? Where is the Industrie of thy fore-fathers? Where is the glorie of thy

thy house? I graunt the signes, and tokens of honor, may be receiued either from thy Auncestors, or from the Prince: but *Nobilitie* and honor it selfe, is the rewarde of thy owne vertue. That vertue, which in things acceptable to the people, doubtful, and full of profit, and hazard, at all times, and by all meanes, doth shew it selfe; which in the time of peace, and securitie, erecteth the ensignes of pietie, and iustice, wherein all both publike and priuate felicities are contained; and then doth bringe forth troppes of all those vertues, which are hand-maids to both. And when the Common-wealth, is disquieted with wars, either at home, or abroad, doth oppose against the enemie, *Fortitude*, and what vertue soeuer is a companion to it, for what vertues, for what prayses art thou to be esteemed? speake boldly. Instead of answer, I see thy doubting: for that which is not, neither can the tongue utter, nor the minde conceiue. Seing therefore thou wilt say nothing, I will answer for thee. But canst thou here? In one word, neither vertue, nor praise, that either I, or thou, or any man els knoweth, is in thee. But goe to, with what right or with what confidence, dost thou vsurpe this same honorable title of *Nobilitie*, which thou admirest in thy selfe, and for which thou thinkest thy selfe so excellent? It is (thou saist) the gift of my ancestors, as are the other signes of *Nobilitie*, whereof I boast. I heare the name; I see the signes; but I desire the thing.

I feare least the auncient honor of thy forefathers, in thy person, be darkened and growen out of vse. If not, as it was first gaind by men, vertuous, and truly valiant, so it ought to be borne againe, in thee, this Nobilitie, which thou boastest to be born with thee: neither can any thinge bee more foolish, then to bee called, that which thou art not. Nothing hath more affinitie with slouth, then to be willing, to bee taken for another, then thou art. Nothing is more vniust, then to vsurpe another mans, for thine owne. Nothing is more shameles, then to desire to be esteemed Noble for kindred, not for vertue. Neither is vertue transferred with the same facilitie, that possessions, are to the heyers. Vertue is euerie mans proper, and peculiar good: and whosoeuer hath not this, doth not only carrie the Idle, but the odious name, and title of Nobilitie. But thou boastest of those, whose posteritie thou art, and desirest men to obserue thy perigree. Well if I should doe so much for thee, and by degrees go backe with thee, to him whose father first gaue honor to thy familie, peradventure I should bring thee to a beginning, thou wouldest bee ashamed of: why art thou pale? It is auncient, that *Plato* saith, *Seruants doe come of Kings, and of seruants doe come Kings.* And what maruaile? For vertue her selfe, doth giue bondslaues, oftentimes not only libertie, but Kingdomes. And vertue exposed to the iniurie of fortune, doth best show what euerie man is. And therefore if thou wilt know what

what thou art, who and how great thou art, defende not thy selfe with this glorious title, borrow not the vertues of others, but bring forth thy own; thou foolishly boastest the benefit of thy stocke, if thou sufferest thy auncestours that are dead, to be better known then thy selfe, that art aliue: Show how much true nobilitie there is in thee, that is, how much vertue in thy minde, how much faith in thy words, and deeds. Show from what stocke thou art. By this meanes shall men esteeme thee in hope greater, for fame better, and for inward vprightnesse, more commendable, that thus honours, may be giuen thee, not thy kindred, thy person, not thy name, thy manners, nor thy auncestours.

*And though thou hast thy auncient praise in store,
Yet not content with glorie of their fame:
Nor boast their vertues that did line before,
Seeke thou thy selfe, for to surpasse the same.*

Kindred and our stocke is like a faire Table, which either may be made more beautifull by a picture, or polluted and defaced with staines. If those things be ioyned to thy birth which do make thy birth greate, the are the praises of thy auncestours renued; if those things, which do blemish thy stocke, then there is little greatnes in thy kindred, & in those things that are annexed to it, Infamie, & reproach? These are those polluted staines, that deface the Images of our fore-

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fathers,

fathers, which the more honorable, they shoue our
auncestours to be, the greater and more intollerable;
is the slouth of their sluggish and degenerous poster-
ritie.

Now with the insolency of thy kindred, thou dost
arrogantly remember thy supporters, thy *Affinitie*, &
Riches; which are good to those that vse them well,
but to those that vse them otherwise, are euill; Nay,
carefully take heede least the aboundance and harmi-
full plentie of ouermuch riches, drowne thy narrow,
and weake minde in many vices, and consume those
seedes of vertue, that are planted in thee, for

Minds of men much plentie overwhelme,

If thou truely vnderstoodest how little or nothing,
riches do helpe to vertue, then thou wouldest thinke
more mildly, and more honestly of pouertie, and of
the poore multitude painefully, and profitably dis-
posed into vertuous courses. For Cities do not sound
with noyle of worke men, and artificers to no pur-
pose. Let these seeme base to dilicat minds, whilest
experience telleth vs, that they are only commodi-
ous, but of most knowne and absolute necessitie.
esreeme not so disdainefully of those things, without
which riches hath nothing, for which they are more
to bee desired then pouertie: And to conclude,
without which, no kinde of life can well be. Neither
the Countrie, the Citie, the Court, nor the campe.

For

For as in the bodie, the thighes, legges, and feete, though they be in inferiour, yet are not in worse and lesse needfull place, then the armes, and the shoulters; so these kinde of men doe inioye that roome, and place in the Common-wealth, which if they for sake, it must needs fall. For whethersoever *Necessity* extends it selfe, thither reacheth art, which is natures follower. For as great and wise states-men gouerne our liues, so artificers and workemen serue our liues: whilst they furnish and adorn our liues with their necessarie vses. Woe vnto mans weakenes if it bee destitute of these helpes, for none of these but liueth according to Gods rule, because hee can show how he liueth; which whosoever in old time could not doe, it was death vnto him; which custome *Augustus*, that famous name, amongst the *Roman Emperours*, precisely obserued, when he obtained the *Decemvirs* of the *Senat*, that euerie Knight might giue an account how hee liued, And of those that were disallowed, some were punished, and some noted with infamie. Therefore if thy birth aduance thee, their industrie commended them; and as thy condition of life is hyer, so theirs is much saffer, and more assured; For whilst they are about good businesse, they auoyd Idlenesse, and serue the Common-wealth, whatsoeuer is necessary to the cōmonwealth to applie thy witte, and thy hand, to that, though it bee not glorious, yet it is honest. Furthermore in that thou reprehendest husbandrie, thou dealest

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frowardly,

frowardnes, and after the manner of the *Thralians* which prouokest thy nourisher, without which thou mayst neede, thou maist hunger: Besides it is a kinde of life, most sincere, and most innocent. In it, there is a gaine, vertuous, most stable, least enuious; For the Diuine nature (saith *Varro*) gaue feilds, but humane arte built cyties. Surely of husbandmen (saith *Cato*) are borne the strongest, and best souldiers; and men of least harmefull thoughts, are they that liue of husbandry. Next vnto these are Merchants, which seasonably prouide for mens necessities, whilst they so mingle the commodities of seuerall Countries, that whatsoeuer is afforded any where, may bee founde euerie where. It is a fauourable trade, and that which minglenth in trafficke, all the Kingdomes of the earth: But at this daye, with much losse to the Common-wealth neglected. For there are a kinde of vulgar and common people, who neglecting the honest course of auoyding pouertie, and enriching their families, doe ambitiously affect honors, which are euer sumptuous. From hence pouertie creepeth into their houses, & frō their houses into the Common-wealth, which wanteth wealth to vphold it. Besids, that which is gotten by Marchandise, is not so much to be rearmd the praye of couetousnes, as the Instrument of bountie, cleanliness, honestie, and honor. Take away the spots of the mind, & with all you take away the staines of the thing; & whereas you say that Merchantes wearie their time
with

with oars; & passe the troubled seas, that in my opiniō, is the chiefe praise of such resolute Industrey, which, that it may perfect that which it hath begun, strongly contendeth with all difficulties, and euer aduventureth vpon new dangers, whilst it passeth into farre places, in delpight of all lets. Surely men trauailing from their natie soyle, dismayd with no distance of place, affraid of no barbarisme, tamed with long & often patience, euer imployed, alwayes carefull of their affaires, must needs returne home full of all knowledge. From hence rich aduantages are deriued to the commonwealth, because all, from that which is euery mans, dooth iustly receiue a benefit. Besides, the wits & capacities of many, by this means are made more exquisit & in the managing of affaires haue a ripper knowledge, and more perfect wisdom, whilst euery man maketh a profit of an others experience. Now Iudge if there be any thing in this which either thou or any man can dispraise, and not rather commend, and admire. Besides, from great Merchandise, arise often great reuerewes, and from great reuerewes deriued innocently to their vertuous posterities, Nobility. And this I see to be and euer to haue been the iudgment and account of euery honest, and wise man, as right so by publike cōsent most approued. But whilst out of euery thing, you take that which is worst, that from the faults of men (an vsuall fault) you may take occasion to debase whatsoeuer you despise, as your manner is) you

also scoffe the Lawyer. Neither you doo consider, that every mans doubtfull estate, destitute of this so profitable defence, dooth easily run headlong, and the helpe which a man wanteth in himselfe, by this meanes he findeth in an other. For this cause there is nothing more excellent, then to exceed in faith, wisdom, and eloquence; because there is nothing more full of humanity, and more deuine then to bestow so many and so great ornaments, and the whole course of our life in defending of other mens dangers. For whosoever amidst so many and so great tempests of this life, and in this vnbridled licentiousnesse of impiety, mildely doth helpe the afflicted, or bestoweth his labour in so troublesome an office; hee is to all men as a fortunate and sauing Starre. For men are not more bound to any man for any thing, then to see part of their burden deriued vpon an other; and by a substitute care with an vnited force, their owne weakenesse to bee supported. Of what reckoning the praise of this hath beene (that I may call thee to auncient and famous, exampels) the Noble *Romanes* well vnderstood; From hence they made their enterance to fame, and besids these, Consuls and men worthy to haue triumphed gained in the defence of causes before Iudges, no lesse opinion & matter of prayse, then when they before had triumphed ouer their conquered enemies.

For these men after things valiantly and fortunately

nately performed, made knowne that the valiantest
breasts are often accompanied with the happiest
wittes; and that the best wits haue often the grea-
test eloquence, and that the praise that riseth from
hence, is equall with the campe, and deserueth as
much, as to bee a valiant Leader. For the profits
that arise from hence, are not lesse then those
which proceede from the other. Therefore I
beseech you what enny is it, if at this day there be
not a meanes of more honorable aduantage, both
to attaine riches, and greatnesse then this is?
In that you say mercenarily, they set to saile, a
thinge that is excellent, you note foorth the
faults of men, and not diminish the dignity of
their calling; take from them extortiones, re-
mooue wranglings, cut off indirect courses, abo-
lish all base and vnworthy dealing, (things seuerely
punishable by lawe) the honesty of the thing re-
maineth from which these fees and deserued al-
lowances doo no whit detract, nor any other lawe
doth giue iust imputation of basenesse, which forbid
the corruption of a mercenary tongue. Neither is
it fit, that this kinde of men, both privately and
publikely so profitable, should be deptyued of the
iust recompence, and fruite of their labour, seeing
those auncient honours, due to this gownned war-
fare are taken from them, *dignity and Office*; in
place whereof haue succeeded these which properly
and fitly are called *Honorable fees*; both, because
they

they are giuen for honour, to honest men, and for an honest cause. Besides, this is as a seminary, from whence princes doo take not onely men skilfull in law and iustice, but those who weare fit to sit at the helme of the common wealth, and to be of counsell to kings : And seeing their office is but a part of the Prince his charge, what hath the armour & the sheild, why it should despise as base, the gowne, and the pen. Let these imployments be accounted obscure shadowes, whilst we must needs confesse, that they are very great, and very profitable, and therefore very honorable. And whereas thou sayst, thou hast no base mind but high and generous; I should prayse thee if this were truly spoken; if in steade of high and great, thou didst not shew thy selfe a contemner of those things, which ought to be much esteemed. For the greatnesse of the minde, is not discerned by swelling wordes, but by the often and accustomable vse of vertue; and things that are boasted of, are nothing but a disdain of the eares; and a loathing and hatred to the mind. And this appeareth in that thou saist those things wheare-with thou swellest, were first thine, before thou wert the worlds or inioyed this light. From hence thou gatherest, that thou wert not borne to serue them, but all these things to serue thee.

These speeches are the rules of pride, and the arguments of thy Ignorance : as though thou were borne to some other end, then all others are; and not

not to worship and reuerence him, whose gift it is, that thou art, and who hath commaunded thee no lesse to procure other mens good, then thy owne. VVhich is not done, by idle thinking, and proude expecting, what houours men doo vnto thee, And wherein they doo worshippe thee but in a diligence of profitable duties, and in a vertuous, and willing readinesse, to doo good. This will prooue those Honours that do come to meete thee, not rashely to bee caste and throwne vppon thee; as a liberty, not to bee as spoyles are, but to bee giuen with good aduise, as to one who placeth true honour, first in his owne conscience before the iudgments and opinions of men; rather in the vprightnesse of behauiour, then in the glory of titles. For he that is any thing or little lesse then his honour, is not honoured by it at all, but over-loaden. Therefore thou must consider circumspectly vpon what confidence thou boastest thy honours; which are so, to those whome they doo adorne, or thy great Ecclesiasticall dignities which thou esteemest best, that are most rich, not most holy; and what holinesse is required of those, who aspyre vnto that honour. A Preeft sayth the Arch-bishop of *Rauennas* (who had his Name from his goulden speech) is the forme of Vertue. Thou boastest also thy Dukedomes and thy

G

Lordships

Lordships, which to whosoever they are committed, to those also is committed the common and publique safety. Take from a *Generall* the arts and true properties of a generall, hee is not a generall, but a trifler; fatally erected as a destroyer, and subuerter of the common good.

If thou vnderstoodest the greatnesse of this burden, thou wouldest constantly refuse it, seeing, whosoever gouerneth without iust furniture for such a charge, doth not gouerne and command, but man doth commit this charge to a vaine glorious, and improuident man, exercised in nothing, strengthened with no good counsell, relying only vpon his birth, not his owne firme vertue, what shall become of the commonwealth? Doo you not see, and must you not confesse, that a sword is giuen to a mad man wherewith he woundeth himself and him that meets him? Nay, wherewith he slaieith the commonwealth? Do you then call this praise, honour, fame, which is a staine, and infamy, a reproach? Alas, I am sorry, least thou flatter thy selfe with a fauourable & plausible error, & that be happines to thee which is vnhappy in the opiniō of others, whilst thou boastest of the goods of the body, and fortune; instead of the goods of the mind, & things which are of low place, thou placest a lost and which are impediments, thou settest in the forefront of honour: Mans true goodnesse is in the minde, which if it be furnished with profitable arts, it neither admireth these as rewards,

nor refuseth them as accessions, to his rewards, as things wherein there is neither praise nor honour, because they make no man better, they make no man worse. Hee is very idle that admireth these things; seeing then that kindred without vertue is neither good, nor euill, and that possessions by many casualties may faile, and so the multitude of followers forsake a man, it must needs bee, that honour is no greater then you that haue it; the strength of it then being in the hands of others, what is it that thou carriest thy selfe so proudley? and as though thou hadst placed thy selfe and all that is thine in safety? thou aimest only at this, that laying all care aside, thou maist cast thy selfe into the armes of pleasure, which will poyson the good bloud if there be any in thee; if any vertue, it will weaken it, if any beauty, it will staine it. O strange error! He that may haue true and permanent good things, to take pleasure in things of no continuance; belecue me, to liue a life; idle, and full of pleasure, is not to liue, but he which bestoweth his time vpon vertue, all parts of his life, are beautifull and full of pleasure. This is that, which the seuerity of the schoole teacheth, & which is contained in the monuments of those, who labour to drawe men from vice, and commend vertue. Dost thou account these seuerer admonitions, that are wholesome, and indeede nothing els but Gods own voice, which awaketh those which are drowisie, calleth backe those that do erre, confirmeth those

that are weake, and bleſſeth all? To theſe counſels thy fore-fathers obeyd, whoſe examples in like manner, I wiſh thou wouldeſt followe, in this reſpect that they are familiar, domeſti-call, and not farre ſought. It was not their ſluggiſh and voluptuous life, that gained thoſe things to thee which puffe thee vppe. But firſt they were Conquerers of their owne faults, and of their enemies forces: With both theſe they gayned triumphant Garlands: which with thee I feare me will wither, waxe paie, and loſe their greeneneſſe; From theſe if thou haſt receiued any motions to vertue, thou art very vnfortunat, if thou dooſt not perfect them, with all labour, and imitation. By this meanes thou ſhalt not bee loaden with the honorable Images, of Auncestours, but thou ſhalt increaſe thy Countrie with a greate Citizen, and an Honourable Autor, to thy poſteritie. This one thing, ſhall bee a meanes, to make thee like thoſe, from whome thou art diſcended; ſo that, they ſhall bee thought either borne againe, or to liue in thee, whoſe glorie by thy vertue, thou haſt renewed. From hence maiſt thou bee thankfull to GOD, who hath placed thee in this watch-tower, that thou maiſt neuer caſt thy eyes, from the Commonwealthe; but bee as profitable vnto it, as thy condition requireth; which by this meanes only thou maiſt make excellent.

If

If thou art otherwise minded, the more insolent
ly thou boastest of that prerogative, the violent-
ly doth thy arrogancie discover it selfe; thou
shalt perceiue (but too late) thy great
fault, and thy greater
punishment.

(*)

CHAP





*The poore man is vnthankfull, who upbray-
deth God, which hath made
him poore.*

CHAP. 7:



Mongst vnthankfull persons, I note the poore man also, whom it is strang not to see quarelous, & cōplaining of his estate, what (saith hee) is this strength of bodie, this beautie, this heath, if I must wrestle with pouertie, which defaceth all these? I see other mens houses full of riches, but mine emptie, and full of spiders; I see this man borne fortunatly, but my selfe vnder some ill, and vnfortunat planet; for at this day euerie man is esteemed, as his riches are; this man is hawtie, proud, and insolent, because he possesseth much; but I am lowe, and base, because my estate is small; this man (because hee is rich) wanteth no occasion of prayse euerie where, and I that am poore, of reproch and disgrace:

Pouertie

*Pouertie that great reproch doth still command:
To do and suffer all that men impose,
And vertues course for want of meanes to lose.*

Who then can deny, but that I haue cause to
complaine, that I am euill delt with all? For to what
ende should hee liue, who is compassed with
all the discommodities
of life?
(* *)

CHAP





*In this I teach that God hath not giuen lesse
to the poore man then to
the rich.*

CHAP. 8.



Man, I did thinke thee to bee poore,
but not in this manner that I now see
thee, namely with a pouertie much
worse, and farre more dangerous: to
thee as to the rest of the multitude,
whether thou hast riches or no, it is in others mens
power; and thou dost not consider that nothing is
more subiect to robber, theeves, fire, and other innu-
merable casualties then they are; Oh, how rich wert
thou, and consequently how happie, if thou knowest
how these things are to bee valued at their iust price;
then thou shouldest vnderstande, true riches to bee
placed in the minde, which if it bee equall to it selfe,
not a couetous, not an admirer of anothers, not an
enuier of any mans estate, not an ambitious affecter
of any mans greatnes, it may then contend in happi-
nes

nes, with any mans felicitie: But from pouertie to vertue thou sayst the way is harde, full of difficulties, and almost beset: hard I graunt, but not beset, for a minde that is truly great, hauing vertue propounded as a reward, doth cast downe whatsoever is a let vnto it; & the diligent and industrious mind, doth cōquer those things which to slouth seeme impregnable. Nay, what if vertue be neerer in freindship to pouertie, then to enuious riches? Surely, the waye to vertue seemeth more readie, by which pouertie creepeth, then that wherein riches boast.

*Learne thou from hence, the power of sober want.
Carius was poore, when Kings he overcame.
Fabritius poore, that scorned Pirrhus gold,
From fordid plough to rule Serranus came,
And men controlld, that late did till the mold.*

For pouertie, and faich, a good minde and true valour, are often inseperable companions; but to riches, there cleaueth oftentimes, the drosse of leaudnesse, insolencie, and slouth, many haue liued fortunately, by induring pouerty patiently; a weake minde (and who almost hath not a weake minde) is easily corrupted with riches. Antiquitie made *Plutus* the God of riches, to bee the sonne of fortune. To euill men, a friende, and with gaine a corrup-

ter of all things: and as a man may bring forth an infinit number of poore men, which with frugalitie, and sparing, as with sure stayres, haue climed vp a loft: so there be millions of rich men headlonge cast downe, whether riotousnes, and pleasure, sweete (but pestilent vices) haue led them. From this wombe, haue proceeded so many troupes of sinnes, so many Idle flow bellies, as the Gretians call them: fatte and vnweildly.

*No sinne from thence, nor act of lust did want,
Since pouertie did Rome forsake.*

For it often happeneth that whosoever seeketh to enter into fame, beginneth with vertue, & endeth with sin, and iniuries: with vertue, whilst he is poore, with sinne, through the perswasion of increasing riches. Thou saist, rich men haue a plaine way to vertue: I graunt it plaine, but deceitfull; and in it there are a thousande windings of vices, a thousande allurements of pleasures, a thousande by-pathes of errors: for to rich men, that desire to sinne, all wayes are open; but a poore man that declineth sometimes from the waye of vertue, necessity (as it were by the hande) leadeth him to the right way: for whilst hee indevoureth himselfe, to that which is harde, and full of difficultie, hee scarce ever turned his eyes, from vertue, which is his loadestone. Then in suffering labor, hee sheweth diligence,

gence, frugalitie, modestie, and going vnto vertue, hee only treadeth the right pathes of vertue. The way peraduenture is hard, but direct, and sure; for hee is much more nimble in this course, then hee that walketh loaden with burdens, whome many things call aside, many things do hinder, and howe much hee goeth on, so much hee soundly reioyceth that he hath profited.

Then hee is infinitely inflamed to the rest of his iourney that remaines, and hee is so ioyfull in his proceeding, that hee is scarce content with a mediocritie; and to conclude, hee thinketh nothing done, if hee haue not perfected what hee hath begunne, and by so much more hee imbraceth his owne pouertie, by howe much hee seeth, more occasions hereby offered to lay a side, and to putte off his basenesse, and to conquer lettes, and also to obtaine honor.

Surely, if a man wash away those staynes, that cleaue to euerie man from his birth, if then hee bee beautifull, and like the Champion of vertue, if hee then be reckoned amongst those, that be honorable, if with the guiding of vertue, hee come for to gouerne the Commonwealth, if from the plough (as the prouerbe is) hee bee aduanced to the scepter, if hee bee in his owne knowledge a performer of honorable attempts; then shall hee perceiue what it is to serue

vnder such a captaine, when he seeth so great allowance made vnto those that follow him; besides oftentimes to a man in danger, there is no haueu safer then pouertie.

*O safe condition of the poorest life, O gift
Of God, as yet not rightly understood.*

Therefore yet reuerence thy pouertie, O thou poore man, that the rich man may vnderstand, that he hath not more safetie in his riches, then thou hast in the prouident dispensation of thy want, and as one, that now standeth in the entrance, and doore to happinesse, lay aside that malicious, and vnthankfull minde, which doth more pollute thee by much, then thy owne pouerty; cast away deformed slouth, and the complaints annexed to it; frame due thanks vnto God not borne in the mouth, but in the heart; know that hee can deuide better, then thou canst choose; Giue more largely then thou canst take; and provide farre better then thou canst wish. If at any time thy thoughts licentiouslly doo wander, perswaded by a lenity, and obliuion, that is by an vngratefull minde, then bridle them with the raines of feare, and of modesty; if they be shut vp and narrowe, stirre them vp and inlarge them to receiue G O D S benefits bestowed vpon thee; for G O D S goodnesse oftentimes, offering it selfe to thy minde, with oft handling, will make thee

thee of a quarrelous and yngratefull complainer,
a secret admitter; and a diligent worshipper of
that goodnesse, which hath made thee
poore for so rich a re-
ward.

H.

CHAP.





*The rich man is no lesse vntthankfull then the poore,
and of three sorts of rich men; delicate, pro-
digall, and sordide; and here in
this Chapter of delicate
rich men.*

CHAP. 9.

THough basenesse and povertry doo chal-
lenge vnto themselues this liberty, that
without controlement they may be qua-
relous, and euer barking, yet thou that
art rich, what meanest thou, to thee alone, and to
thy vse, there is as much digged, and ploughed,
as is sufficient to serue a multitude: thou buildest
more largely, then any of thy neighbours, men
furrowe the seas, for thy profit; in one word thou
dooest not possesse riches, but treadst them vnder
foote; yet for all this, I doo not see thee more re-
ligious, more thankfull, then if thou haddest none
of those, I doo obserue thy minde to bee narrowe,
and

and vncapable of those things; wherewith thou aboundest, so that thou art not madde after one fashion; for I finde three sortes of rich men; the delicate, prodigall, and sordide: I call those that delicate rich men, which are euer loathing and taking dislike; to whom the plenty of these things are wearisome; which other men much desire; they are almost dull if they bee not euer awaked with some newe thinge; they are alwaies doubting of so many inticements of pleasures which they may choose, which they may take, which they may vse presently, which they may deferre; those things which now please them, presently they mislike; thus giving themselves ouer to all delights, they know not what to doo with riches; so some fully doth this delicate sort of people vse them. Thus plenty is a burden to them; so hath riotousnesse made their minds effeminate:

Riotousnesse that sweetest ill,

which granted to the minde,

Weakens the sense, corrupteth all,

and man himselfe doth blinde;

Her fayrest looks (enticing much)

doe harmefull person byde;

Whilst painted shewes deceitfully

into mans heart do slide.

Being

O yee troling rich men dissolued and without finewes, which from so many benefits of God haue learned to forget him. O men worthy to suffer cold, heat, and hunger; who only seeme to haue a curious iudgment in an euill cause; who are not gluttons, and belly-gods, to haunt brothell houses and stewes, but euer being neatly deckt, professe a learned riotousnes; who only speake finely, and filthely; who only seeme to know and professe all parts of pleasure, who suffer no home-borne thing to be about you, for whom only are inuented so many effeminate arts. and vnsightly trauailes of this age; yet notwithstanding you must confesse, that these so many commodities, haue brought so many discomforties to you, that no pleasure can delight you, nothing (how great soeuer) can make you happy, nor any of these womanish ornaments can set you out. Can it possible bee that indued with such proposterous mindes, you should acknowledge the fauour of God? You should esteeme it? you should speake of it? But rather yee, if yee haue any respect vnto your selues, leaue off to bee so angry with your selues.

Those things which are superfluous to you, because you corrupt them with euill vsing, those things (I say) deuide amongst the poore, as too much for your selues; lay aside this burde as ouergreat for you; learne to bee content with a little, and this little, to vse wel; seeing ye haue abused so much, so long; neuer being

being equall & vpright to your selues, to others burdensome, and vniust. O yee much more happy, if this aboundance of loathed and superfluous choise, weare taken from you; and those pleasures wherewith ye are drunke: so that there were no more left vnto you, then wherewithall to maintaine life. If so many benefits of God cannot tel you to a sounder iudgment, yet at least haue pittie vpon your selues: feare and tremble, at the end of vnthankfull persons. Chiefely take heede least being brought vnto pouerty, yee learne when it is to late, to esteeme those things which so proudly yee now loath, and that which is now by too much aboundance a wearinesse, in the end by want and scarcitie become your sorrow.

(*) (*)

I

CHAP



Of the prodigall rich man.

CHAP IO

YE E prodigall rich men, which growe insolent with foolish pleasures, and do spooffe your riches, which with vnseemly expences doe waste that which vvas gotten with other mens labour; doubtlesse for you is wouen a web of much ill; alas how am I affraide for you, least you make restitution to the last farthing for these euill expenses; and least in the shipwracke of a rich patrimony, you perish against the rocke of extreame necessity. In what place should I reckon you, you that are so inconsiderate, such enemies to your owne estates? And to conclude, such vnmindfull and sluggish contemners of so many benefits of God; If I call you foolish, filthy swine, gulphes and whirlepooles; if roging and riotous eaters, I speake but as it is. For there is nothing can deliuer you from infamy & from those punishments which are companions to it; will you neuer vnderstand

stand, that this substance was so richly bestowed vpon you, not to be an iustrument of madding & frantick desires, not a coach to draw you to all pleasures not a nourishment to your riotousnesse; not foode to your insatiable bellies, But that rather amidst heape of riches, should shine your modesty, shamefastnesse, frugality, sobriety, and your especiall thankfull mind to God. It is no praise to be rich, but it is a glorious thing in the midst of riches to be temperate; and from his daily allowance euer to lay something aside, to relieue those who haue neede of a helping hand and a ready and seasonable liberality. These are those gratefull thanks, which he requirerh of you, who is the great bestower of all benefites, and whome mortality can requite in nothing, but in a thankfull minde. If in this yee are deafe, if yee are taken with a deadly sleepe, if you continue thus lewdly, and riotously to wast that which is left vnto you; then when you haue worne out your riches, and are commen to extreame pouerty, and later then was fit are awaked out of this Lethargy; you shall finde none of all those things, which your folly hath already spent, your throats haue already deuoured, your lusts haue already consumed, and your madnesse hath prodigally wasted. Doe yee not perceiue, (vnlesse you haue losse all sence) what punishment there is in this sinne? Doe you not perceiue an injury to your strength, to your valoure, to your

name, to your health? Dooth not all the force and vigour of your mind, by degrees waste? doth not the strength of your body by little and little faile you? Dooth not this manifolde, and deformed euill privately pestilent, ouerthrowe Cityes and great Empires? VVas not this euer the opinion of anntient seuerity, which made so many lawes against sumptuous ryot to expell this monster? Oh GOD, why at this day is not the like seuerity reuiued? seeing this furious Monster yet liueth, that it may repress it? Surely if it were, things would not haue comen to this monstrous dissolutenessse of ryot, in this kinde exceedingly ingenious, to finde out euery houre something, whereby euery man wasting his substance, may perish after a new manner. If you haue no respect, if no shame can keepe you in any limits: if your owne reputations will not, yet let your losses mooue you; especially that fatal consumption which wasteth both you and yours: for

*Ryot it is riches bane, and pouerty at last
Dooth these succede where ryot all doth waste:
And if all this will not awake you, yet*

feare the iudgments of GOD; And least you bee
founde amongst those, who are most vnthankfull,
and

and most impure; learne at length to spare those things to good vses, which that diuine bountie, not only with gentle, but liberall hande, hath bestowed vpon you.

And these things, being thus recovered from your riotous madnesse, deuide them to the vse of those, by whose holy prayers, and deuout wishes, you may be deliuered from eternall punishment.

(* *)

CHAP





*Of the, Sor dide and couetous
rich man.*

CHAP. II.

BVt O thou fordide and couetous rich man, I see thee also drowned in this puddle. I do finde thee also amongst those that are vnthankfull. Thou, O thou that art malice it selfe, who with bleared eyes lookest vpon euerie thinge that is not within thy owne hedges.

Who in the midst of thy riches layest open thy pouertie, whilst thou dost not esteeme those thinges thou hast, but lookest at those things thou couetest; whilst thou gapest after other mens, & scrapest from thy neighbours; Euer being a thirst, euen in a doubting and feare, with a headlong hope, and greedy deuouring vnfatiable expectatiō. thou man, of no reckoning, who art the lightest appendix of thy substance; O clay wrought vp with the filth of coueteousnesse. O Insatiable gulph; O vnstified puddle; are these the thanks

thanks that thou giuest to God: dost thou so esteeme his bountie? For what else shall I call these madde wishes, and endlesse desires? this theeuish robbing disposition, but a cōplaining and vnthankful mind? This substance (as it seemeth) is not a pleasure vnto thee, but a torment. Dost thou thinke that these were heaped vpon thee to this ende, to make a hooke of, to pull all things to thee? that no eye, no watch, no mans care, can be a sufficient defence, but that thou spoylest this man, thou robbest that man, thou hurtest him, thou vndoest an other, whersoener thou hast any thing to do, all things are wasted, consumed and deformed by thee? O God hee that hath bestowed so much riches vpon thee, hath bestowed them vpon thee to that ende, that with a bountifull minde, and liberall hand thou shouldest imitate the giuer, thou shouldest inioyne thy selfe a sober abstinence, and willing pouertie, thou shouldest worship him in the person of the poore, who when hee was here, preferred pouertie before riches: not that thou shouldest compasse and infold about thine owne, and others; as a Dragon doth a hidde treasure, which neither taketh it himselfe, nor suffereth others to vse it.

And amongst so many benefits of God, thou dost only be wray a rauenous, furious, and vnthfankull mind. I beseech thee acknowledge that these lets are remooued from thee, which hinder the attaining of things excellent; and that the occasions are taken away

away, into which, pouertie doth ofte thrust men with violence: Surely, from riches to vertue, the way, if it be not straighter, yet it is more easie, then from pouertie: peraduenture thou wilt say, it is more deceitfull: I graunt, to a man that is not sufficiently circumspect: but to a man warie and diligent, this way by riches is much the shorter. Blot out of thy minde (O thou rich man) whatsoever doth defame thee, as a ravenous wilde beast, in the mouthes of men; and the richer thou art, by so much, liue more warily: and then inioy and spare not, what thou hast gotten; at length rest and fauour thy selfe; torment not thy selfe with perpetuall gaping after whatsoever may be gotten; this done, then more reuerently and more carefully, giue thanks to him, who as (when he might not haue giuen these things to thee) yet gaue them freely, so he now may take them from thee, prouoked by thy vnfound and vnthankfull minde.

(*) (*)



*Amongst the vnthankfull persons I finde
him who is troubled with
sickenesse.*

CHAP. 21:

Hen these that I haue remēbred, he is
no lesse vnthankfull, whom infirmitie
of bodie, and desperate sicknesse, hath
tyed vnto his bed; who afflicted with
continuall torments, pineth and wa-
steth; O life (saith he) liker a death, then life; yea a cō-
tinuall death do I liue, who am borne to continuall
punishment, whome greefes daily torment, what
profit is it for me to be borne into this light, when
this light is to me a punishment? If this my life bee
continually vext with feare of death, miserie, and
greefe: if in the ende it bee concluded with a death,
flowe and bitter, and answerable to the rest of my
life,

life; As pouertie is greuous to the poore man, base-
 nesse a reproach to the ignoble, and to euery man
 that which doth most oppresse him; yet no mans
 condition is more intollerable then mine; from mee
 those two fearefull companions neuer depart, *fear*
 and *sorrow*, I cannot rest, I must not murther, I may
 not breath, there is no calamitie so great, no plague
 so cruell, wherein the minde with some comfort is
 not refreshed, but this of mine is increased with com-
 fort, It doth greue me if anyman goe about with
 artificiall termes to appease my greefe. I seeme to be
 derided, I am not mytigated; but made

worse, for greefe driueth away,

whatsoeuer driueth not

away greefe.

(*)

CHAP,





Him that is worne with griefe in that he is
unthankfull, I neither pardon
him, nor speake him
faire.

CHAP. 13

I should confesse my selfe verie voyd of
humanitie, if I should not pittie thee,
whosoever thou art, who art plunged
into this bottome of griefe; I am not ig-
norant that their is scarce any strength of minde, to
bee found, which griefe doth not weare and cast
downe, to triumph ouer griefe, is not the patts of
a man, but of some deuine power; it is a cruell ty-
rant, and seildome leaueth a man before it haue
brought the bodie lowe, and afflicted the minde, for
the affinitie with it; but if thou dost remember thy
selfe, that thou wert a man before thou weart
miserable, before thou weart loaden with

that miserie and those diseases, consider a little, remember with mee thy condition: Thou art a man: Therefore thou art not only a bodie, but a soule, The soule ought to haue rule ouer the bodie, not the bodie ouer the soule, why art thou not therefore erected and lifted vp, O thou soule, that thou maist behould that place which belongs vnto thee: & preserue that dignitie and worthinesse, which is thine safe and vntoucht: what, wilt thou suffer the bodie to haue greater preheminance then thy selfe? shall those foolish, & irreligious voyces of this earthly frame, detracting from thy commandements, following which waye soeuer sence leads them, and shall not thy commandement bee heard? Go to, say vnto thy bodie it is my dutie to rule, and then to obey, is it not my part to affect the bodie, and to impose vpon it whatsoeuer I please? say, I will lead thee, and thou shalt follow me, and as I feell, and am affected, so speake thou, I am, and haue a being without thee; but thou (vnto thee thou art quickened by me) art but a lump of flesh, more claye, or if any thing can be more filthie then clay, thy dignitie is nothing but as I haue aduanced thee to a diuine knowledge, and as all things with me are excellent and admirable, so with thee they are contemptible and base; & to say truth what hast thou in thy selfe, that is not common with the brute beasts? would not thy weight depresse thee into the deepest bottomes, if I did not lift thee vp and ingraft thee to a diuinitie?

Therefore

Therefore (O body) whatsoever it is that offendeth thee, I reckon it as those things that are vnder mee, which neither ad nor detract from me.

These griefes to thee peradventure are bitter. So to me also (I do not say vnprofitable) but for the affinity that I haue with thee, vnswet and vnpleasant. But that they should haue power ouer me, that they should compell me to dispaire; that they should rob me of my felicity; that they should counsel, and I be perswaded; that they should command, & I obey; that they should compell, and I be inforced; this were to make me (whose essence is more diuine) subject to corruption: because all the things which compass thee about, which haue their affinity with thee, and whereof thou art made, are true assurances and direct pathes to mortality. But I am immortal. I am without the danger & reach of these darts; and therefore wile mortall things I can neither bee touched nor affected; away with these shadowes of feare, and afflicke me. O griefes at your pleasure, bee made and feare as you thinke good, me (that is the inward and better part of a man) ye cannot hurt. I will keepe my selfe, not only unconquered, but vnouched; vnshaken by nothing from hence, whereof so glory. I will beate yte with my strength, and a resolute heart, and in bearing, I will outcome you; & that am not afraid, that am not to be wounded, that am inviolable; that am not to be pained with these woundes. Nay I am then, most frende, most at

mine owne command, then doe I most triumph,
 when I see thee (O body) affected with griefe; as if
 a strong tower and holde of dangerous affections
 were beseege and taken by me; Thus will a wise
 and a valiant man thinke; Thus will hee compasse
 himselfe, thus firmly and resolutely will hee
 stand; and the more hee vnderstandeth his mis-
 ery, and feeleth his griefe, the more wisely will
 hee deale, the more valiantly will hee suffer
 that, which hee must needs suffer the more
 generously will hee speake, the more gloriously
 will hee triumph; to conclude, hee will per-
 swade himselfe, that those remedies, which
 bring griefe, are best and most effectually; and
 then as griefes hinder the offices of the body, so
 they stur vpe the strength of the minde, and
 cure the incurable diseases of it; that is, they cut off
 these luxurious hopes, they bridle those wan-
 dring thoughtes, they repress that admiration
 of our selues, which deceitfully stealeth into our
 familiarity. For wee must confesse, no man
 hath more modesty, more appetite, more ho-
 nesty, then when hee is wrapt vppe in diseases;
 then dooth hee truly knowe of what value all hu-
 mane things are. Then dooth hee learne to
 detest the hurtfull plagues of all mankind, *Ambition*,
 and *Contumeliousness*; then the tempestes,
 those vyolent tempestes of luste are calme; then
 all trybles, pleasures, cares, are of no reckon-
 ing;

things: hee is conuersant for amongst men; that
hee seemeth rather to bee with GOD: then he
is altogether out of him selfe; that hee neither
thinketh nor speaketh of these inferiour and hu-
mane things; but as is needfull for one ready
to depart; and to aduise his owne. These things
doo sicknesses, diseases and griefes performe in
this respect (I had almost sayd they are to be abra-
ced of vs,) that they giue euery man occasion, to
take experiment of himselfe; and with a faithfull
though harde exercise to obtaine a strength not
onely to suffer, but to challenge, the vter-
most and extremities of all euill; And there-
fore wee are often indebted to diseases, for In-
nocency; Innocency that is the path-way to salua-
tion. But these are (say you) sharpe and cruell
strypes: Let them bee cruell, and sharpe, so
they bee wholesome. For what if thou peraduen-
ture bee such a one as cannot bee cured, but by
this meanes; Dooft thou thinke it fit that GOD
shoulde leade thee, warne thee, correct thee, at
thy appointment and direction? To some men
their owne conscience is a sufficient motiue to
vertue, some other stand in neede of one to
admonishe them, one to correct them, some
others are dull and drowsie, and euer dooing
that they shoulde not, whome thou canst not
mooue and awake, but with spurres dull and vnca-

pable

pable wistart not to be taught, but with stripes and
 what if thou sit one of those? What if almost lost
 thou can no otherwise be saued but by this meanes?
 Dost thou take it grieuouly, and repiningly, murmu-
 rest, that God doth burne thee, doth cure thee, and
 and launce thee, that hee may cure thee? that vnwill-
 ling and fighting against him, he saue thee by
 that meanes which he knoweth fittest? for

*Wounds that enter deepe, with danger to the life,
 are seldome cured with ease, but fire, and knife.*

Take heede therefore least whilst thou fauourest thy
 selfe too much, and with wicked complaints prouo-
 kest him, who carefull prouideth for thy good, thou
 also be sould amongst the vnthankfull, and so (as
 the rewarde of thy vnthankfulnesse) these bodily
 griefes be not diminished, but increased with
 addition of those euerliuing (and yet
 deadly) griefes of the
 soule.



*He also that is in perfect health is many
wayes vnthankfull.*

CHAP. 9.

ALthough he, from whom the impatien-
cy of vncurable griefes extorteth disho-
nest and vnwise complaints be vnthank-
full, yet he sinneth more with excuse,
then he that is sounde and stronge. For he, because
hee is neuer almost admonisht with diseases, nor
with griefes awaked out of sleepe, groweth drowfie
for want of paine; deceiueth himselfe with o-
uermuch cherishing, and is altogether in the leauen
of pride. By this meanes hee more and more plea-
seth himselfe; by this meanes hee madly think-
eth, and foolishely hopeth, and in his whole
life dooth altogether otherwise then hee ought.
In one worde hee tryeth. From hence his life

L

is

is either but a sluggish idlenesse or a wicked and filthy businesse, with both these, thy life is stained, (Oh thou man distracted, whosoever thou art, whome health of body hath brought to a sicknesse of minde) who therefore art in health, that thou maist perish; and therefore perishest, because knowing and willingly thou perishest. Wherefore dost thou thinke this sound and healthfull state of body was graunted thee? What? that thou mightst imploy this inestimable benefit of G O D, to no good vse, that thou mightest spende thy life in the windings of errour, amongst the thornes of desire; that neuer quiet neuer fauourable to thy selfe, thou maist euer seeke the meanes and instruments of life, onely to bee tossed in these follyes? thus beeing wrapped in those foolish affections, wilt thou neuer free and deliuer thy selfe? But euer wallow in that mire, without once looking to Heaven? Dost thou liue, that (as the prouerbe is) thou maist with the cordes of idlenesse, drawe the day from morning to night, and as the dead sea (neuer moued) with any desire of honesty, and with no good imployments, doe no memorable thing, distinguisht from those that are most sluggish, so thou maist bee
bee

Whose

*Whose life is dead (living) and yet alive,
 Who spends in sleepe the circuit of the yeare.
 And waking doth dreames to him selfe deriue
 And wasts a life securely without feare.*

That thus groueling to the earth, obeying thy belly,
 and seruing thy pleasure, thou maist quench the
 heate of thy luste, and vncleane puddles of sinne;
 thou doost ill esteeme the benefits of G O D,
 if thou dost abuse so fouly so great a fauour.

Surely, that any mans life is sweete vnto him,
 it is the benefit of health; but the summe and scope
 of our life, is to come to the knowledge of our
 selues, and from hence to the knowledge of him,
 whose worke wee are; therefore there can bee no
 part of our life well spent, that is not bestowed in
 perfecting of this knowledge; This ought to bee
 every mans purpose and indeauour, without the di-
 rection of this starre, to liue, is but to erre, and
 goe astray; From hence therefore, we may esteeme
 holinesse and pyety to bee the chiefe and onely
 worke of our life; this I require as trusting to
 preuaile of our inwarde senses, of our mouth,
 of our manners; that is, of our whole man: the
 holinesse of our inwarde senses, is to knowe
 God; of our mouth to praise him; of our manners

to bridle vice and to increase vertue; and to indeavour that thou maist be, if not a great and honourable, yet a good and vertuous example.

Hee that hath time in his power, spareth the very moments of it; because hee knoweth that nothing is turned about with such swiftnesse as is euery part of life; and therefore he must remember the counsell giuen to the husbandmen.

*Watch O yee men, for time with silent sound,
And steps vnscene the yeare still turneth round.*

And indeede what is it to liue, but perpetually to watch? What is it to watch, but to intende our calling? Againe, what is liker to death then to bee sluggish and caste into this pestilent sleepe? I meane into this variety, and vanity of vnprofitable things. To conclude, to shew how dull wee are, and how greatly towards GOD vnthankfull, who will haue his benefites contained in our life, and that life bestowed to his worshippe, and the publike profite; alas how many doo wee see, who, because they cannot giue a reason of this their idlenesse, too late do lament that they haue passed not a life, but rather a frustration, & a dreame. To conclude to these

From

From pleasures great much bitternes doth springe,
Which vexeth oft, when flowers are in the prime:
When selfe remorse, doth grieve and sorrow bring,
With Idle steppes to tread our happie time.

CHAP





*Kings and princes are vnthankfull who
reckon vp what estimation men make
of their calling, to take occasion from
hence to show howe false it is,
and how vniustly they may
complaine as being euil
dealt withall .*

CHAP, 15:

IT is strange, to finde so many sortes of men, as I haue reckoned before, to bee vnthankfull, but much more, will he be astonisht, which considers thee (cheefe of mortall men) vpon whose persons is more heaped, then vpon whole countries, to bee of that minde, and to be so affected, that none are more quarelous and cōplaining then they are. This speech if it be not oft in the mouths of princes, yet it is often a thought in their minds; They say, that I (whatsoeuer I am cald) sit in the highest gouernement of things; my least signification any way is as a rule, whereunto

euerie

euerie man composeth himselfe, that there is a necessity from my pleasure imposed vpon all those, who liue vnder my gouernment: because it is in my power to will and to be able. If any thing please me, it is a lawe: my wordes with no contrarie sence are to be frustrate, nor with any consent of men to be confuted. It is in my power, in what condition euerie man shall liue. If I like peace, my country shall liue in quiet. If I preferre warre before peace, all places sounde with the noyce of armours; what I will do, or what I will not do; it is only in my owne determination: thus are all things guided with my hand: and that which is the happiest thing in all this, is, that nothing can compell me. Those whom I admitte in counsell, as perswaders or diswaders of thinges; they first search out my meaning, before they expresse their owne, least they should thinke any thing from which I do dissent. This emulation possesseth all the fauorits of princes, and that liue in Courts, who may finde me at leasure, and who may most, and longest please me, to performe obedience to me, to be admitted into my inward friendshipp; to execute my commaundements, to be almost no other thing then to be accepted into familiaritie with this high and great power, which way soeuer I go, I haue euer the attendance of Maiestie, and state; & *same* it selfe (euen at whose only mention the greatest gape) which they prefer before all things, cleaueth vnto mee, euen against my will, & that both *great & everlasting*, doubtlesse I

am

„ am much in the mouthes of those that are present,
 „ absent, and a farre off; so that I cannot easily tel, whe-
 „ ther absent, or present, I am more honorable. My au-
 „ thoritie, and my power is euerie where feared. It con-
 „ cerneth men publikely to know my kindred, my wife,
 „ dome, and my actions.

„ To conclude, it is their labour, and aduantage, to
 „ set down the most hidden and secret parts of my life:
 „ yea (if it were possible) my inward thoughts; what &
 „ of what kinde soeuer any thing is, that belongs vnto
 „ me, that after-ages (out of Chronicles) may read them,
 „ and fame report the. The hands of many men, their
 „ industrie, their labor, their faith, and indeuours, trauel
 „ only for my vse, to procure my quiet, my security, my
 „ riches, my honor, my contentment: & finally, to cō-
 „ mend my name, and memorie to posteritie, yea euen
 „ those pleasures are obuious, prepard, and offered vn-
 „ to me, which often the most dangerous wittes; haue
 „ pursued with the losse of their liues, fames, & fortunes
 „ In this the greatest difficultie is, the choyce of these
 „ thinges; my wishes are not only euer performed
 „ but vsually preuented; In one word I do so much ex-
 „ ceed all others, as much as any man can desire; these
 „ are publike in the eyes of men, and such things
 „ as no man can contradict; these men
 „ are the lookers at my Crowne
 „ and dignitie.

(*)

CHAP,

Heare the Prince goeth about to extenuat the
 opinion which the common people haue of his
 Soueraintie; for he proueth that hee is com-
 passed with miseries, that men may
 see in comparison of others,
 how little hee is bound
 to God.

CHAP, 13

But Oh men ouermuch deceiued, in
 whose opinions I am (if not euerie way
 happie) yet of farre more excellent e-
 state then others: For
With false names great things do please,

This outward brightnesse is a guide to this great
 error; this affecteth and dazeleth the eyes of the
 false esteemers of my condition: and of those, who
 are altogether ignorant, what this is, which they call
Soueraigntie; wilt thou know what principallitie is: It
 is a Tower seated in a place narrow, slipperie, head-
 long:

long; In this standing am I set; that I may perpetually watch; from hence (if I chaunce to sleepe) I sh all fall dangerously. No man lyeth more open to assaults; no man more violently is cast down; none hath lesse advantage to rise againe. They say my least signification is a law to men. Oh I would to God, I did not finde it dayly otherwise, who am drawne thither, and against my will, whether occasions of others leade me, not whether I my selfe had purposed. My pleasure you say is a necessitie to others: nay, that necessitie is imposed vpon me, which ariseth out of things themselves: neither can I will any thing otherwise, then of necessitie must bee, ynlesse I will that, which I cannot obtaine. For as we command men, so things command vs, and no man hath things in his power, but he that obeyeth the necessitie of them. They say, whatsoever pleaseth me is a Law; these are trifles. For it is much truer that the law often ouerturneth what I like. For the law to mee is harde and inexorable; and as it restrayneth the multitude, so to my words and deedes it is a most seuerer censor. My words (they say) with no contrarieie nor no consent of men can be deluded. There is nothing so false as this, seeing I am compelled, often to speak one thing, and thinke another. It is often my greatest advantage, that I am not vnderstood. Surely, whosoever with a reaching head vnderstandeth mee, sometimes doth vnderstand a little more then is fitt. Therefore

to my wordes (but when they are solemne and conceiued with deliberation) men must not euer giue credit. And although often I do speake truly, yet those that doe catch my wordes, either with a peruersnesse of their owne, or an ingrafted sinister disposition, turne them to what they please: they say it is in my power, in what state and condition euery man shall liue. If I should grant that this were so, yet I must confesse that euen in this respect, I scarce euer haue true quiet.

For I am euer doubtfull, and in suspence, least I offend any man vnwillingly, least I discountenance him that is worthie, aduance him that is vnthankfull, or vnawares ouerthrow my selfe, and my owne state: For euen this verie *Soueraintie* it selfe, exposeth me (both publikely and priuately) to the enuies, hatreds, and ielousies of men: all which easily overthrow this state.

And to conclude, the longer they lurke, the more fatally and more dangerously they breake out. Besids you say (as I please) I doe giue to my subiects peace, and warre. Yea euen this, is amongst the ils of princes, that great distructions, and publike calamities, are referred vnto them onely, as to the cheefe authors: when indeede the true causes of them are hidde secretly, in the deepe, and sticke fast in more hidden rootes, then the counsels of men. This is that vniust ignorance of the common people, from whence so much enuie is deriued

to the prince. Of things well don, euery man drawes
 " the honor to himselfe, but the prince alone must
 " beare the burden of others madnes. They say, I haue
 that preheminance, that whatsoeuer I wil, or wil not,
 is in my owne power. It were indeede an excellent
 thing, if it were. If thus a man might satisfie all, if all
 men were of one minde. But who soeuer thinketh
 thus, doth not consider, that I only neuer sayle in a
 calme, but am perpetually tost in the waues of opini-
 on; and lie only open to the differinge censures of
 good and ill; and to euerie light ignorant and idle
 fable. Therefore in this respect, that so much is law-
 full vnto mee, I haue reason greatly for to feare,
 least I should do any thing to ouerthrowe this liber-
 tie. If any man consider well, hee shall see, that in
 this great libertie there is least. Neither doe men
 take vnto themselues more harde iudgement, or
 secreet speeches then against the pince; Of whome
 to speake euill, and to dislike his doinges (whether
 they bee good or badde) it is not a corruption of a
 fewe, but of longe time, a popular vertue, you say,
 " those whome I doe admitte into Counsell, they doe
 " first gather out my meaning, before they expresse
 " their owne, least they should thinke something diffe-
 ring from me.

Let it be so, may not my crueltie and that feare,
 which men haue of mee, bee gathered from
 hence, as also their owne sluggish and iniurious
 distrust of mee.

For

For if they be admitted, to this end to guide me with their counsell; why doe they dissemble it? If they thinke well, profitably, and for the good of the common wealth; why doe they first gather what is my meaning? VVhy doe they so carefully and warchly deliver their owne opinion to trye mine? why doe they so flauishly submit their voices vnto me: doubtlesse, they doe it to that end that they may seeme to thinke the same that I doe; that thus by the likenes of counsell, they may make themselves easily more neere vnto me. Doe they not thus withdraw their faith and fidelity from me? Am I not by this means forsaken of those I ought not, in things that are most weighty? Namely, those who ought to call mee backe when I erre, to hold me vp when I flyde, to raise mee vp when I fall, craftily doe cast me headlong into destruction. So farre doe they proceede in the contention of flattery, in the impudency of lying, and in the study of deceit. Then in what state am I, if these be true as they are most true? Do not these deuouring gulphes euer gape after my fortunes? what? if I bestowe so much vpon them as they wickedly couet or impudently beg? If in those things which falsely and fraudelently they steale, they see our winking at it; are we not streight made a pray vnto pouerty, then which, no enemy can bee greater to a kingdome? If I do giue with moderation, and according to mens desertts, presently they account mee base and nigardly. So whether I giue,

or not giue, I must either want or bee enuied; but
 you say all men strue to insinuate themselves in
 to my fauour, to bee neerer and more powerfull
 with mee, seeing to bee inwarde with princes and
 to execute their commaundements is nothing else
 but to part and deuide soueraignery with them;
 this may teach all men, in what slippery estate wee
 stand, and how little wee are at our owne pleasure,
 who must be subiect to other mens vyces, to obey o-
 ther mens wits, and to be led whether they will haue
 vs. If vices would shew themselves as they are, there
 is no man but would be affraid and tremble at them;
 but to Princes they offer themselves disguise, they
 carrie a shape of vertue with them, and so easily in-
 sinuate themselves. From hence is that, which they
 call our facility, liberall to the worst sort & more fa-
 uourable often to vices, then to vertue, when wee
 are most officiously obserued of our attendants, then
 audacious spirits in our gates doe worke tragedies;
 modesty being banished, for which there is scarce a-
 ny parts in princes courts, there scarce it retaineth
 the name of vertue when it hath losse all the orna-
 mentes and graces of it; It is often couered with a
 base garment, and then it is not so much called mo-
 desty, and feare, sluggishnesse, and basenesse; ther-
 fore if any man think rightly, we are rather troubled
 with other mens faults then our owne, whilst we liue
 in this ignorance of things, and looking with other
 mens eyes, scarce ever see any thing truly, from hence
 proceede

proceede to many errours, to many complaints, which on euery side are stirred vp to our enuy; who are saide to know all things, to gouerne all things, to be able to doe all things; when indeed we know all thinges laste of all, neither doe men tell vs things as they are, but as it please them to deuise, so that euerie mans particular faulte is laide vppon the PRINCE, bee hee neuer so innocent; But they say, I euer walke, being guarded with a traine of Maiesty and State. Indeede thus I am safe, as a Cittie, all whose gates are diligently kept, except one, which is open to the enemies; neither can the Prince (though with his authoritie he command euery man) eschew the trecheries of all; for there wil neuer some be waiting, which (moued with vniust hatred) conspire his ouerthrow; there be euery where examples of this, by which we may see how the liues of Princes, are open to euery mans wicked conspiracies; yea and oftentimes such furious assaults are ioyfully accepted amongst the multitude; So that those are thought to haue deserued best of the common wealth, who haue compassed about with such treacherous factions, and amongst the vulgar multitude, there is no newes receiued with greater applause; nothing more acceptable to the ignorant people, then this; that the yoke of a tyrant is taken from their neckes, and rewards are bestowed vpon the murderers. Thus vndefended, vnheard, and often the innocent is punished; no law nor maiesty can

can be a protection to him, in whose only safety the safety of all consisteth, besides it is not in the providence and wisdom of any, but of him that is the great defendour of kingdomes, to escape those stormes, which a man shall see thence to arise often, from whence in all reason they are least expected; for the nearest and most inward friends, do often become the most dangerous traytors. This is that garde which so defendeth our bodies, that it dooth often wound them; which we nourish at our owne expences, not so much to defend vs as overthrow vs.

CHAP.





*The Prince proceedeth to reckon vp those
things which may diminish o-
ther mens opinionsof this
felicitie.*

CHAP. 9.

ANd fame, which all mortall men expect
about all things, what dooth it profit
mee, if it dooth dishonour and blemish
my name? Should I therefore esteeme
it because it is great? Yea, the greater it is, the more
dangerous; and the more it doth staine me; what
am I greater that I am more famous?

*All men point and say that this is he
what earth to fewe that life hath giuen to me*

N

And

And am I by this more famous ? more excellent ? and not rather more stained, more vexed ? whatsoeuer belongeth to mee, that they say it is fit to bee knowne publikly. This also is to bee reckoned, amongest the infelicitie of Princes ; that priuate mens faults oftentimes humility, conscience, and charity dooth hide, and the least blemishes in vs, are publikely shewed as great deformities ; from hence it commeth, that whatsoeuer sinne, or filthinesse is any where, all that almost, is thought either to proceede from the PRINCE, or to rest vppon him ; neither doe priuate men sinne more sparingly, but more secretly ; men easily doe pardon their owne faultes, but neuer the PRINCES, nay the more equall euery man is to himselfe, the more vniuste hee is to the PRINCE ; and as concerning pleasures, from the plenty whereof, commeth a difficulty of choice, I would to GOD those could see the end of them, who from these do measure our felicitie, with grievous (yet deserved punishments.)

They should well vnderstand, how light, how flitting, how fearefull ; they are and full of repentance ; for the very aboundance of these thinges, which you so much esteeme dooth take from euery thing, the sweete and the pleasure of them ; neither dooth that euer delight vs, which truth commendeth to vs, but which novelty ; what is exquisite, speciall, and not common ; Euery common thing

thing be it neuer so excellent, groweth base; and as
sone as there be many of them, they are cheape; It
is scarce any pleasure at all; that is a pleasure to all;
but these which in the opinion of the multitude
are so much to be desired, doe compasse the princes
young yeares about, before he learne to know them,
hate them, or eschewe them; hee first tasteth e-
uill things, before hee knoweth them to be euill,
he first vnderstandeth himselfe to bee taken, before
hee hath any power to take heede of these ineui-
table deceits; neither can hee with any force he
hath, repell the violence of those pleasures,
that doe assaulte him. Away with that felicitie;
(which if it bee any) yet is not of that value, that
thereby the minde should bee besotted; the body
weakened; and the fame darkened; and to follow
pleasures, what is it but to hunt sicknesse, grieve and
shame? True pleasures, and which indeede deserue
the name of pleasures, are fewe, and do happen to
priuate men oftener, then to Princes; our pleasures
are counterfeit, masked, and full of danger, and to
conclude, they are not that they seeme, and that
which truly is in them (if there bee any thing truly
in them) is lesse then that which is not, or worse,
or more daungerous. My wishes they say are not
onely performed, but sweetned. Those wishes
must needes bee lowe, and beneath the dignity of
this place, which a man may so easily obtaine;
they ayme at nothing that is great, at no

ning worthy of this fortune ; surely as soone as it is vnderstoode , that any thing is attempted by mee, whereby my riches, my dignity, my dominion is to bee enlarged; all men by all meanes doe seeke to hinder it ; so obstinately and of set purpose doe men rise to subuert mee, to keep mee vnder, to oppresse mee; No man is sooner frustrate of his hope, no man hath more dangerous attempts against him , then the PRINCE; Those sluggishe and base wittes, borne to seruitude, by how much they increase in slouthfull secret practises , by so much more dangerously, they assault our safeties and fortune; that I may not speake of other Princes , and great persons, which with lealously enuie our states and calling , who, by how much our fortunes are aduanced, by so much they suppose their owne to be cast downe because there is no enlarging of the boundes of Empyre but into the limittes of an other; which must bee to him that inuades troublesome, and full of danger; besides doubtfull, and vnhappy euent do often crosse indeauours that are excellent, and worthy of this place; that it may seeme to bee better to litle and rest , like sluggish beastes , then to aduenture themselues , into so many headlong downefalles , which ruinate their states and their whole Kingdomes . These are those felicities , where-with our fortunes are measured.

From

From hence there springeth so much enuie to vs, as we can scarce endure; as though wee had gotten the vitermost happinesse vpon earth, So that our kinde of life is scarce knowne to bee vn safe, miserable, full of daunger, of any other, then of those that are borne to bee Princes. All things with vs are full of suspitions, cares, and feare. O men thrice fortunate, to whome a life is granted, not tossed with the tempests of enuie, subiect to no stormes of hatred, and conspiracie, whoe haue a condition, and estate beneath the enuie of this place, and yet aboue the common equalitie.

These are they that liue in securitie, who haue in safetie whatsoeuer they possesse, these haue tranquillitie, pleasure, ioy, and happinesse.

Scildome doth enuie or malice, lye in wayte for them. To conclude, these haue all those commodities and pleasures; which falsly are sayd to bee proper vnto princes, who cannot vse them, but with great daunger; neither were it straunge, if Princes (the greatest of mortall men) layinge aside this publike care, and freed from this heauie burden, did betake themselues into this safe and quiet harbour.

Next vnto these, are the multitude, who are safe (if not in the greatnesse of their riches) yet in their condition and multitude of their like.

Last of all (if in no other respect) yet for their contempt, which to the lowest is as a strong wall.

*When heauie newes the people doth oppresse,
The princes greatnes is in daunger much,
Where lower states are safe, and feare no such.*

CHAP,





*Here I shewe by how many benefites the prince
is bound to God, and in all these, that
hee sheweth himselfe vn-
thankfull.*

CHAP, 13

WELL I see what the matter is; hee that is almost ouer loaden and opprest with the benefites of God, doth scarce perceiue them; he that hath more lent him, doth more impudently denie the debt.

He that ought to be altogether in giuing of thanks, is ashamed to be scene thankfull: he whose condition is aboue all, placeth himselfe lower then all; not in want of vnderstanding, but in that (though his place be excellent) yet he dare boldly vpbraide the bestower of it, with what termes shall I censure this corrupt and sinister disposition: Shall I call him blinde, that cannot see those thinges, whose brightness shine in euerie mans eyes? Or rather in adde, which
proudly

proudly treadeth vnder foote, which all men admire, that they are bestowed vpon him? or dull and earthly, which perceiueth not those things, in the midst whereof hee is placed? or to say more truely wicked, which with a strang confidence acknowledgeth none of those things that appertaine to his calling? Well I will deliuer my selfe, and thee whosoever thou art that readest this, out of this doubt I will call him *unthankfull*; and in this one word containe all his sham. And first in the verie entrance thou bewrayest thy friuolous boasting, who saist that they know nothing which esteeme thy condition better then the condition of other men; As though thou only in respect of all other men (who thinkest thus) thought truely, and other men were deceiued, who see thee in the midst of the Sonne to complaine of light. But indeed it is much truer, that thou only hast weak eyes, which together with thy minde are both blinded, with that light that doth shine about thee; This first dazeleth thee, then others; whose minds are infected with the like error. Thou sayst that *principalitie* and *Souerain-
tie* are like a Tower seated in a straite, and slipperie place, where a man must perpetually watch: this hitherto is well spoken, If thou speakest it with that minde that it ought; but I see thou showest not the excellency of that place, but the danger. Thou dost not acknowledge, that thou art seated in a glorious; and high place, but complaineest that it is slipperie, & full of downefalles; Neither dost thou speake as one
warie,

warie, but as one quarrelous, and complaining; not as one remembring, and magnifying thy condition, but detracting from it. Art thou in that minde that thou thinkest it is lawfull for any man to bee Idle, and secure? Suppose thy selfe not to be in that place, set thy selfe with the common people, make not thy selfe singular, yet thou canst not denie, but thou art committed to thy owne charge; if no other, yet this charitie (I am sure) is ingrafted in thee; For to this ende thou art borne, that thou shouldest neuer leaue thy selfe, but toward thy selfe keepe a continuall guard, goe whether thou wilt, bee as dissolute and as negligent as thou canst; yet thou mayst not flye nor escape thy selfe; from thy selfe without any teacher, thou art warnd, that thou must nourish, frame, and till thy selfe; Surely no hard prouince, no laborious worke, whereunto willingly thou comdest and by the light of nature; But as it is easie to bee caried to this, so it is as hard and difficult to performe it: For all other things are to be left, or rather al other thinges are to be done, that this one thinge may be perfected.

There is no mortall man, that hath not this person, this charge, put vpon him: and therefore what care, or labour soeuer is bestowed in this, it is not *Labor*, but *Nature*. And if thou bestowe this care and paines vpon others, it is *Gouernement*, that is a dutie to rule others. But whether it be a dutie, or a burden, vpon whomsoeuer it is imposed, with all it

is commanded him to beare it valiantly; and firmly to obey him, whose only benefite it is, that euery man is. Therefore rightly thou maist call *Gouernement or rule, a care of an other mans wellfare*: seeing the great weight of it, can neither be ballast, nor stand without a gouernour. Therefore whosoever is aduanced to this dignitie, to him is the publike profit propounded and he is giuen (as it were from heauen) as a remedy and safeguard for all. This if thou more carefully considerest, what and how great it is, then shalt thou vnderstand the excellencie and maiestie of this place: wherein whosoever standes, he so farre exceedeth all other men, as farre as euery man exceedeth all those thinges which admire man as their Lord, their gouernor, and their ruler. Therefore it is true that thou (who art a Prince) sustaineest the person of God: and performest his office, in *Authoritie, example, gouernment*. And dost thou thinke that any thing can be spoken, or wisht for, higher and more honorable then this? But if this dignitie doe not erect thee, but ouerwhelme thee, take heede that thou accuse not the bountie of God, but secretly acknowledge the narrownes of thine owne breast, and the weakenes of thy minde, vnfit for so great an honor, and vncapable of such a Maiestie. But because *Soueraintie* (as thou callest it) is a Tower, know that therein thou art a continuall watch man, a searcher out of mens manners, a continuall obseruer of all that is done, least a passage bee made through
sinnes

sinnes and faults, and other pestilent infections, to ouerthrow those things which are committed to thy faith, and credit. If thou excludest these things, if thou layest Iustice as a foundation of concorde: If this concorde of thy subiects thou increasest with faith; If thou sharpenest the loue of the Common-wealth with vertue; If all thy subiects perceiue thee to bee a Prince, not by *Impositions*, but *benefits*; If with these benefites thou preuentest their desires; to conclude, if thy goodnesse bee equall to thy power; if the higher thou art, thou art so much the better; thou shalt assure men that Maiestie is well bestowed vpon thy person: thou shalt possesse their hearts, and euerie mans vows and wishes shall be, that God the great King, and gouernour of all thinges, will be as gracious to thee, as thou art to those that liue vnder thee. Last of all, this Maiestie shall supplie vnto thee, those sweete pleasures which are layd aside, for those only whom God aduanceth to so high an honor. Further, *he that careth for the good of the Common-wealth, the whole Common-wealth watcheth for his good*, and the guard, that he is attended with all, are not so much a defence as an ornament: hee that establissheth this concord of all, this concord is to him an inuincible defence, he that imbraceth al with a true loue, him al men imbrace with a true and happie loue. This therefore is to bee a Prince, in the most highest place; that is, for the safetie, of all

to bestow his care, his labour, his study, to be the president of lawes: to plant a loue of that which is iust and honest, and to ingraft a hatred of vice, diligently to care that none perish, no not those that are willing, he that thus disposeth himselfe, shall haue the helpes of vertue, whereunto if hee leane, hee shall not fall, as from a slipperie and dangerous Tower, but shall remaine firme in that state of Maiestie: there his busied care in the busines of all shall keepe him safe.

And if at any time (as humane things are vncertaine) sleepe stealing vpon him, he chaunce to fall, he is carefully supported in their hands, which with their good will, defence, and safetie, are desirous to preserue his life; Neither shall his fall bruise him, but admonish him: For the swordes of enemies shall haue their edges rebated in the loue of his people; in this shall deceits bee disclosed, and trecheries bee discovered. For there is scarce any other Prince oppressed with faction, but hee that first oppresseth the people with so many iniuries: Neither is it strange that hee lyeth open to the iniuries of all, that hee is torne in pieces with their opinions, wishes, and reproaches, who laboureth himselfe, to procure the destruction of all.

Therefore how safe thou art; how deare and desired thou art, how great & honorable, how quietly obediēt thou hast thy subiects, it is in thy power, whosoe

uer

uer thou art that art a Prince. And as thy safety, so are
thy dangers ascribed vnto thy selfe; if thou indea-
uourest still that thou maist stand, thou shalt neuer
need to labour that thou maist rise. If thou
liuest for the good of all, all will
bestowe their liues for
thy good.

(* *)

O 3

CHAP:





*I do here admonish the Prince that intending
those things which appertaine his calling,
he shew himselfe thankesfull and
mindefull of Gods bene-
fits.*

CHAP. 18



Oublesse it is truly saide, that thou art
the Lord of times, and moments of
time, and that thou so commandest
necessity, that thou art not drawn with
the violence of it; if principally, thou
takest heed, that thou dost not with thy own incon-
sideratures inuite it. If thou admittest into counsel,
these two companions *Wisedome, & Providence* : For
with the direction of these two, thou shalt easily e-
scape those almost ineuitable snares of this Monster
necessitie; yea & occasions will be ready; occasions,
good and lawfull, safely and profitably to meet thee.

For

For seldome, are any other driuen into the straights of time; then the slouthfull, inconsiderate, and improuident. But if thy mind be hedged about with a daily and diligent care, that it slide not, I dare promise thee, no vnfortunate thing, shall happen vnto thee; nothing vnlookt for. But all things happely, and forward before hand. If banishing this rashnes thou looke unto things that are to come, with the eyes of wisdome, then as thou shalt wisely beare, whatsoeuer happeneth, so thou shalt easily anoyde error. And if all things come not to passe which thou wouldst; yet those things shall happen which thou hast before thought of: And if things succeed not as thou hast determined, yet thou shalt quietly entertaine those things whereunto occasions shall leade thee. There shall scarce any thing be, which shall impose a necessitie vpon thee; Nay, it shalbe in thy owne power, what shalbe of necessity, and what not. For so imperious are circumspection; and watchfulnesse, that wheresoeuer they are, frō thence they exclude all necessity. So farre do diligent men exceed the slouthfull, the inconsiderate, the delolute, which that great Poet well vnderstood, when elegantly he song thus:

*Iapetus Sonnes the authors of our being,
With unlike hand, a race of men did frame,
Prometheus Sonnes the power had of foreseeing
When th' other race more dull, saw not the same*

Ayre

*Agre in the one a spirite deuine infused,
When heauy Earth the other down did cast:
One things to come, the one in wisdom must
Whilst these did sigh for things were fondly past*

Surely thus the Prince may do euery thing, if whatsoeuer he thinketh, he applyeth to this rule; Thus whatsoeuer please the Prince shall be a lawe; neither is a law any thing else but the rule of right. Command the beste thinges, and whatsoeuer at any time or in any place thou commaundest, shall obtaine force and strength of a lawe. Ift ere be not to subuert these at any time a difference betwixt the PRINCE and the lawe. For the PRINCE must bee a helpe to the law, and the law a safegard to the PRINCE. Thus shall there bee much worthinesse in thy deedes, much reuerence and authority in thy words; neither shalt thou at any time be compelled to vse dissembling or deceit; the weake and vnfaithfull supporters of a kingdome; which indeede are rather the forerunners of craft, then the companions and witnesses of true wisdom. Euer goe the right way, fly all bypathes, let no false opinions touch either thee, or thy subiects. Let no suspicions staine the chaste minde of either. Let both liue truely, and sincerely, speake ingeniously and feare not to be vnderstood; and whatsoeuer is sincerely spoken, let it be accepted and construed with a sincere and vertuous affection. For truth the PRINCE

Hath

*Hath taught to shun deceit,
Nor false to speake nor secretly to hate,
Nor kinde in shewes, to harme to ly in wait,
With open truth to guide and rule his state.*

Thus obedience, shall euer confirme what is vte-
red from a mouth so ingenious and voide of deceipt.
Thus shall the successe euer bee answerable to all
that thou intendest; in the choyse of any whom thou
aduauncest to any place. For if laying aside fauour
and affectatiō, laying aside al base & sinister respects,
thou only aymest to preferre and honour those that
are most worthy, thou shalt detine vnto thy selfe
no hatreds, neither publike nor priuate, but loue in-
genious, and sincere, and the religious vowes and
wishes of all men for thy safety. For al men wil vn-
derstand how neetely it concernes them to obtaine
of God by their prayers a long and a happy life, for
so good and gracious a Prince. For by this meanes
euery man prayeth, that himselfe may liue wel. For
the state and condition of euery man, is happy vnder
a good and a gracions Prince. But you say the pub-
like calamities (whose causes are hid in secret) are re-
ferred to the Prince, as to the chief author, as though
it could be denied, that warre and peace were not in
the hands of the Prince; shall I tell thee how truely
this is spoken? Intreate thus much of thy selfe,
that thou maist be able to quench those sparks of de-
P firing

firing and coueting Ambition, which euer seeke to inlarge themselves, and doe inwardly burne thee, that they grow not to a flame; and then shalt thou cut off all causes of warre. Looke not how narrowly, or how largely thou rulest, but how iustly; then thou shalt perceiue thy selfe placed in a large field, were thou maiest muster an army of vertues, which do al fight vnder these two ensignes *Piety* and *Iustice*. From whence I beseech thee (dooest thou thinke) arise the greatest part of the publique calamities? Doubtlesse, seldome frō forraine iniuries, but most often and vsually from the vnquiet mind of those, who thinke they possesse nothing, vnlesse they invade that which is an others. Doubtlesse, I thinke him to bee the most mighty Prince, whose mind and wishes are at vnity with themselves. O thou Prince, (whosoever thou art) quiet and calme thine owne heart; erect thy selfe byr and about all those things which inflame the minde; holde the desires vnder a bridle; so shalt thou prevent warres, seditions, tumults; if any thing turbulently fall out, thou shalt not buy thy peace of straungers, with great summes of money, or with diminishing or dishonouring of thy Empyre; but thou shalt make the Articles and Covenants of peace thy selfe; If anie man shall propounde thee, and thy kingdome as a pray; if any foolishly cruell, and placing right in violence, cometh to oppresse thee, doubtlesse all men wil arise in armes to defend thee; because whilst they

they establish the authoritie in thee, they do likewise fortifie their owne. Last of all, he will defend thee himselfe, who as hee is iustice it selfe, so hee euer firmly standeth and fighteth for that vertue. Thus, whatsoeuer thou wilt, shall bee lawfull for thee; that is, if thou euer embrace, that which is iuste and honest; and remooue from thee, whatsoeuer is vnlawfull.

Thus, no mans wishes shall differ from thine, no mans wishes shall hurt thee; no tales shall trouble thee; nothing so popularly shall come to the eares of the common people, as thy praises; neither shall any man compare thy faults (which are none) with thy good deeds as doubtfull, which in the ballance do weigh the heauiest; thy vertues shalbe hurt with no affinitie with vice; the multitude of thy vertues and the greatnesse of them shall take iudgement from men, and place instead thereof Admiration. This shall ingraft thy name to posterity; but thou complaineest, that those who are intimate & of counsell with thee do not deale faithfully, and sincerely, when as first they gather out the meaning, before they expresse their owne. This (thou sayst) is an argument of a minde corrupt, and vnfaithful. Indeed I doe thinke so with thee: there can bee nothing more wicked, more corrupt then these. But mee thinkes thou seemest not to knowe that the greatest parte of this vnfaithfulnesse altogether proceedeth from thy selfe; consider what these are

to whom thou hast committed thy selfe, thy name, thy dignity; and in one worde the Sovereignty of state. They are either chosen of thee to that place, and esteemed for their vertue, and worth; or rashely admitted into councell. What ornaments haue they brought to thy friendship? with what pety? with what manners, with what guifts of the minde are they aduanced? Or rather haue they not possesse that place with boldnesse? Are they not seruants vnprofitable, seruants of their owne and thy vnlawfull desires? Are they not staines to thy friendship? Blemishes of thy Empyre rather then instrumentes and seruants of a good gouernement? If thou acknowledgest any of these, thou must first accuse thy selfe before thou accuse them; neither canst thou maruaile that this sorte of menne should shewe any other thinge then those they are furnisht with. To conclude, it is no argument of a Great PRINCE to haue such friendes, and surely what Mortall Man can expect either truth or sinceritie from those, who neuer so much as heard of vertue, beeing the bondslaues of vice; who with boldenesse haue rusht into the councell of PRINCES, who scarce where euer knowne vnto him, but by daungerous fawnings; which onely compasse him about, that they may robbe him; thus they begin.

First they blinde the PRINCE with flatterie; they not onely powre oyle into his eares (as the

the prouerbe is) but with their filthie mouthes dangerous and deadly poyson, thus they proceede to deceiue him; first by soothing, then by seraping: if any aduersitie be at hand, these stand neuer sure to the Prince; not to the better cause, but to the stronger, & the greater facti^o. They incline especially thither, whether gaine, leuitie, & falshood lead them; they rest not in their watch-Towers, to yelde themselves to their cheefe and lawfull Prince, but to him that shall conquer. These neuer seeke what is honest, but what is safe and profitable. But if thou desirest, neuer to be deceiued, neuer to haue the faith of subjects, to shrink from thee: If thou wilt be strong in Counsell; to conclude, if thou wilt haue firme rule of gouernment; diligently inquire into the liues, the conditions, the fame of those, whome thou admittest either into Counsell to thy selfe, or to the gouernemēt of the Common wealth, choose, & carefully choose not the most popular, & most in fauour, but the best. These will counsell thee & perswade good; but those will suggest ill. Thus shall the state of things be verie good, whilst thou thus gouernest; thou shalt ingraft into thy contrie the true notes of happinesse. For when men shall vnderstand, how hard it is to counsell such a Prince, wholesome and profitable things: verie few will thinke it belongs vnto them, to be admitted to this honor, to bee of thy secret counsell; when men shall obserue that men only conspicuous, in wiledome and honestie are admitted of the Prince

and to the Prince, they will not flocke ynto thee in
such swarmes. There is no man can so farre forget
himselfe, but that in his owne minde, hee will thinke
thus; who am I that should goe about to be of coun-
sell with the Prince? What vertues am I furnished
withall answerable to so high a place? Haue I giuen
any testimonie of my life, of so profitable and ho-
norable a paines; that I should deserue that place,
that I should bee called into counsell with him, who
hath the principall & cheefe gouernment of things?
How often shall there be consultations of doubtfull
and vncertaine things: when in Courts, feares and
terrors are thicke dangers barking on euerie side, the
what is there in all my store of wisdom, learning,
and experience, wherewith I may ease either the
Prince, or the Common-wealth. The more learned
that euerie man is, the more experienced, the wiser;
the more earnest hee is in such a cause, in such a place
at such a time, What part shall I play here of a wise
man, or of a foole? Or shall I not lay open my owne
ignorance and folly, shall not this honor bestowed
vpon me, be like a wonder: these and such like true
thoughts will driue a man into a conscience of him-
selfe: therefore to aspire to such a place, to such an
honor, men must haue feare, respect, modesty, things
not euer seene in the affectation of these places. Eue-
rie man first must feare himselfe, his owne iudge-
ment, then the iudgement of his most graue, & most
wise prince: then the iudgement of all. Therefore
there

there is no cause, why a Prince should feare men of ill disposition, when his Court is not open to any such monsters, when honors are not stayde either by selling them, or casting them vpon vnworthie persons: but rather to marke and obserue, men excellent in vertue, although priuate and obscure, and to compell such (how vnwilling soeuer) to take the charge of gouernment of things, & to be of his own Council.

Surely such a Prince, shall neuer be in daunger of euill Counsels, and vntruthes, for such will euer speake to him as it is. Thus excluding the dregges, hee shall make choyle of the most sincere, and with a sharpe eye, hee shall wound masked and counterfeit vices. For they shall not dare to mingle the dregges with vertues; which he shall euer haue true, eminent and conspicuous about him, with the helpe of these, he shall sustaine the heauie trouble some weight of gouernment. Thus from the Court shall be banished continuall boldnes, and Impudencie. Nowe thou saist (O Prince) that it is in thy owne power, that there be no bottomlesse gulphes in thy Kingdome, which to fill vp, thou shalt be brought to a dangerous pollicy. Be bountifull, but not a waster: set vnto thy selfe Limittes for thy libertie: not releeue not others, with thy bountie, but such, as with true prayes, may celebrate thy vertue. These will not secretly breake thy treasure, but silently deserue thy liberalitie. Then such a Court shall

shall vomit out no plague to infect the ayre; from whence are heapt together pestilent clowdes that do threaten stormes and tempests. But there shall bee a perpetuall and euermorelasting *Seminarie* of most firme and sound tranquillitie. From hence shall euery man take example of life; there thou that art the Prince shall shine as the sunne amongst the other starres; the nobilitie shall looke into thy wisdom as into a bright and true glasse; thy wisdom shall be stronger then the craft of any; so farre shalt thou be from hauing the sinnes and the vices of others imputed to thee. To conclude, all the darts of enuie (dartes that are often-times dangerous) shall be rebaited and dull in the sheeld of a publike loue, which shall make thee not to be wounded. Go to (O Prince) give an assurance in thy whole life, that thou hast cast an account with thy Kingdome, as one ready to render an account to God, & men, & that thou art not only, not a tyrant, but a defender of the publike state, and so consequently, that thou art the soule of the Empire, and that life that the people breath. In one word, that thou art in the place of God, whome the good loue, and reuerence as a father; the wicked feare as a leuere iudge. If thou art indued with this vnderstanding, with these vertues, no danger shall assault thee, no treasons, no poysons, no murders. Valiant and most faithfull guards shall defend thee. Thy subjects loue, and that which is thy vnseperable companion, a celestiall grace. For what Prince soener is chaste,
holy

holy, and like vnto God, as he shall seeme to bee ad-
uanced to that place by God him selfe, so evidently
it will appeare, that hee is vnder the defence of the
most high. This is that strong and safest guard, which
can neuer bee mooued against the life of the
Prince; which can neuer be corrupted
with any reward, nor forced with any
violence, against the Prince
his safetie.

(*)

Q

CHAP





To These former I annex more arguments,
that the Prince may learne by them to
acknowledge Gods goodnesse, and
his great fauours toward
him.

CHAP 19.



Now to all these the last thing I
can ad, is *Fame*; not a deceitfull,
& trifling benefit, but that which
alone taketh the defence of euerie
mans good name against all the
iniuries of time: I confesse it is a
late recompence, and the last reward, but with all,
the greatest and the most pretious, to this a
Prince ought to direct his cheefe care of govern-
ment: for I see not what a Prince should greatly
desire

desire besides this one thinge; neither euerie kinde of fame, but that which is good. For any fame is great enough, if it be good enough. This is that which to man prepareth the way to immortalitie: nay, it selfe is an Image, a beginning, and not the least part of eternitie, with this touch-stone in the ende euerie mans life and manners are tryed: For seildome is fame vnttrue, if it be Constant, and continuall: Neither, do I call that fame, which is but the indiscret rumors or the rash speech of the common people, or the voyces which are extorted from feare or violence; neither euerie estimation of those that are present do I call fame: but the iudgements of strangers, and of late posteritie: then both which nothing is more vncorrupted. whatsoeuer thou art (O Prince) know that all that is placed in thy fame: This is to thee a treasure much more pretious then any mettall: From hence dost thou drawe a name, and honor, a memorie of thee, not only continuall, but continually glorious. There is nothing which thou canst carrie from hence sauing this.

If thou shouldest bee such a one, as all men doe promise theselues of thee: as all men would haue thee to be, & to be accounted: such a one shal fame report thee. A glasse doth not more truely represent the face, then the fame doth the man, especially thee, who canst escape the iudgements of none, because thy brightnes hath set thee in the eyes, the speeches, the opinions of all, thy life shall bee lookt into, thy

Q₃

wisedome

wisedome shalbe examined, thy manners shalbe sifted, and against thy will, thou shalt be pictured in an open table, where euerie eye (though not curious) may reade thee, that is in the Chronicles, and in those monuments which amongst posterities, must out-live all memorie: to what ende thinkest thou? that euerie man may propound thee as an example, if of vertue to be followed, if of vice to bee eschewed; for as good fame followeth the name of a good Prince, so of a wicked, vnfortunate, and neuer resting staines, attend vpon their ghosts, from the courses of posteritie. Now choose which thou wilt, whether those things which are written of thee, shall be reade to thy honor & prayse, or to thy everlasting infamie, weigh and ballance both these, thou canst not choose or eschew both; the one thou mayst auoide. I do not thinke that thou art such an enemy to thy selfe, but that thou hadst rather fauour thy honor, then procure thy shame; that thou hadst rather bee esteemed vertuous, then dishonest. Therefore exercise this seuerer government vpon thy senses, vpon thy affectiōs, that there may be nothing, wherein thou needest to bee behoulding to any: pardon thy selfe nothing, let there bee nothing, which any man may forgiue thee. So excell amongst men, as thy honor, thy dignitie, thy power doth, that thy honor may be aboue mortalitie, propound vnto men thy life, as a perpetuall censure, build this commendation to thy selfe, that thou (which deuideest ho-

nor

nor to all) maist worthily sit in that high seate of honour thy selfe. As thy originall shewes thee to bee Lord of many countries; so let thy vertues assure men, that thou art a preferer of them. Neuer place more in thy wil, then in equitie; neuer more in force, then in iustice; gaine vnto thy selfe a good Name, which often flattery will not affoorde vnto thee, nor these riches which thou obtainest by intreaty, nor the strength of thy mightie Kingdome, nor so many thousands of men warring for thy safety; thy fame must bee thy owne gift. Vices will gaine vnto thee a fame odious, and hateful, but vertues, honourable, and euerlasting. Increate this fame of thy selfe; show in this, how favourable thou art to thy selfe, to thy country. For the fame of the PRINCE is oftentimes the fame of his countrey: and though fame (as I saide) be the name of a future and late-lasting good, yet notwithstanding thou in determining wel of the common wealth, inwardly shall perceiue those ioyes, which aduance the best men, aboue the common delights of the ignorant and base multitude.

*All Earthes shall speake of thee,
And sundry coastes shall register thy Name,
When times to come shall Chronicle the same.*

Q3

Thus

Thus thou vnderstandest, how little acquaintance; thou oughtest to haue with sordide and infectious pleasures, which most of all do hurt him, whome most of all they flatter, which effeminate any man, bee hee neuer so strong; wheresoever thy are, from thence, strength both of the body and mind are speedily banisht; whosoever he is (bee hee neuer so valiant) after that pleasures haue laide hold vpon him, hee is nothing else, but the relikes and shadowe of that he was.

To conclude, pleasures do drowne the minde in that gulph from whence it cannot easily be freed. Eye, what can be more vnworthy him that is beautified with that honour to be called a man? what can be a greater enemy to him, who is a Prince? Neither the armed troupes, nor the enemy that hath possessed the field, or shaken the walles, is so much to bee feared by a Prince, as this sorrow making monster pleasure: These doe not besiege the wals, but deceiue the sences; they come not a farre off, but are at hande and within our selues; they assault vs not with foote, and horse, but they stirre vppe our whole body and all partes of it against the soule; I say they distract man and are authors of a ciuill warre within himselfe. In mans inward parts they fight so fiercely and so treacherously, that the better, and more noble part of man is brought into subiection to the worse; so that whilst man particularly dissenteth in himselfe, hee is wholly conquered;
all

all brought vnder the rule of an other; wholly compelled to yeelde altogether from himselfe; and plainly transformed into a brute beast.

Therefore (O Prince) if thou desirest that thy Name may bee gratefull, and honourable to posterity, and from hence obtaine ioyes, that are sound and continuall; if thou wilt haue this dignity, to be a steppe to those happie and euerlasting rewards, that are reserued for good Princes; blowe away and disperse these darke cloudes of vulgar and base pleasure which interposed before thy eyes, eclipse from thee the sight of those heavenly ioyes: If thou at any time bee brought into a true contemplation of these, then thou wouldest not knowe what those impure pleasures are, which are allotted to sordide and base persons. Let them keepe vnto themselves that which is fit for them, vndergoe thou that difficult labour, in the ende whereof there is true felicity. It is euery mans worke to looke at that which is before his feete, But it is thy office, to looke further and to aime higher, and those thinges which are either behinde or beneath thee (as beeing ouer base) not once to regard them.

Surely whosoever is drawne thoroughly with the loue of heavenly things, can be no more intangled in these base and vile desires, then an Eagle in the small threades of a spyders webbe. Therefore

fore resolute thy selfe, that no base thing is to bee thought of by thee; that nothing is to bee desired of thee, which is not great and excellent. And last of all, that nothing is to bee esteemed great by thee, which is not indeede such in the iudgments of all. Thus shalt thou obtaine, that thy wishes shalbe worthy thy selfe, and that place which thou sustaine; and in the highest place, thou shalt obtaine the highest honour.

Thus, if thou neuer seuer thy wishes from the common wishes; if thou intendest nothing, that is of a priuate and vnlawfull hope, if thou equalest thy hopes to the rule of right; al men wil strue, who shal most further them: hee will thinke to haue gained much vnto himselfe, who shall approue himselfe most to thee: who shall performe to thee most labour, most studie, most seruice. Thus walking this way, thou shalt neuer be thrust into those headlong and dangerous downfalles; thou shalt couet nothing that is anothers; thou shalt neuer take armes for glory, and only to boast thy greatnesse and power: Couer not thy ill ambition with false names; thinke it not a Kingly thing to strue for that which is anothers, and inglorious onely to defend thine owne: but proceede vnwillingly (and as it weare compelled with the malice of those with whome thou hast to deale) to reuenge publike iniuries, and recouer the right of thy kingdome from vniust possessours, with a vertuous and religious warre. Admit for thy companions

companions not headlong *Covetousnesse*, and blinde *desire*, but *duty*, and *fortitude*; and then doubt not, but thou shalt breake open those passages that are shut; thou shalt goe through those pathes that are beset; thou shalt make playne those places that are vneuen; and easily escape all difficulties whatsoever; in one word, what course soever thou take, it is sure to bee ballant and certaine. The reason is manifest, because all things are easie, obuious, and open to these two vertues, *Iustice* and *Fortitude*. And as infelicity, repentance, and sorrow are vsually the end of wicked and vnwise designs, so victory, successe, and felicity, are the recompence of those actions that are well begun. If these and such like thoughts, be firmly rooted in thy inward soule, thou (whosoever thou art that sittest in the throne of Maiesty) if thou professest the feare of GOD, if thou crauest his holy spirit, to be the author of thy counsell, and the directour of thy life, thy mind (doubtlesse) shalbe purified, and all blemishes of an vnthankfull minde being remooued, and thy eyes cleered, thou shalt then perceiue those heauenly and happy giftes wherewith thou art compassed, and aduanced to that honour. Thus banishing all inward blindnesse, thou shalt not measure this place with his watchfull cares, with his vngratefull labours; nor with the liberties of vices not in the oportunities of pleasure, but in the occasions of iuste aduantages of well deseruing of mankind,

R

which

which is the onely and chiefe end of *Souereignty*,
and by this meanes thou shalt giue iust, and deser-
ued thanks with due honour, and a gratefull
full minde, to the KING of all kinges,
who is only most great, and
most wise.

(***)

CHAP.





Here I shew how this sinne of vnthankfulness,
 is ingrafted in mans nature, in that
 Children are not lesse vn-
 thankfull then
 others.

CHAP. 20

Did thinke that I had finished this labour
 of rehearsing, of admonishing, of chastis-
 sing vngratefull persons; and I was rea-
 dy to lay aside my pen; when behold su-
 dainely I saw a great troupe of vnthankfull creatures,
 and indeed such a one, as that those whō I haue rec-
 koned already, are but few in comparison of these. If
 I should goe about to rehearse them, all the day
 woulde hide it selfe, before I had fully acom-
 plisht halfe: And indeede as many men as I
 see, so many men likewise doe I see vnthankfull,
 R 2 wicked,

wicked, & iniurious esteemers of those benefits that they haue receiued; Nay I do not except him, who although he can scarce speake, yet euen the words of his infancy are but lamentatiōs of that misery which he sainerh to himselfe, and being so little, yet he carrieth a heart swelling, and full of anger. He scarce is, and yet he is altogether vnthankfull. Oh happy (saith he) are men which do liue at their owne disposition, and are not kept in this hard gouernment of Parents; or of those to whom their parents haue committed the charge. Oh what ill lucke haue I, who, if I desire any thing, be it neuer so small, and such a thing as without losse to any may be giuen vn to me, yet it is either denied me proudly, or by force taken or secretly conuaied from me, only of purpose to crosse mee. There is no man that is elder then I, which dooth not as it were of right, with a kinde of boldnesse, challenge authority ouer me; the basest slaue in the house is made more account of then I, that am appointed to be the heyre: All men abuse my weakenesse, my tendernes, my simplicity; There is scarce any man that thinketh it fit to please, or obey me; I must euer heare sharpe words, hard, bitter, and cruel speeches, as peace, heare, come hither, goe, do this, do not that, take heed sirrah: and such like. I see nothing but teachers and correctours euery where (that is vexers and tormenters of this yong age): and if I doe any thing childishly, or speake or doe any thinge merily, O bolde boy (they say)
They

They threaten, & indeed beate me; my nurse when I was a child did wrappe vp my body straitly in my swadling clothes; but now is all that libertie more straitly shut vp, which I ought to haue had from my mothers wombe; I must now liue at others mens direction, at other mens pleasures; if this bee to liue, thus to liue vnder so vniust and cruell gouernment. And thus am I vsed, although I see and know well enough, what is fit to be donne, and for any thinge that I see, me thinkes I haue more witte and vnderstanding then these auncient folke, which seeme to be so wise; which speake nothing but these ould dotting sayings, euer imposing hardnes vpon me, labor, studie, watching, manners, respect of my elders, and all sad and hard things. And all these things (say they) belong to vertue: When indeede they knowe not what vertue is.

This I am sure of, that by this meanes they take vniustly from me my pleasures, my play, my delight; thus obstinately they deale, to take me from my pleasure, whilst they seeke not only to keepe me from being merrie, but hardly and straitly keepe me in, imposing vpon me at these yeares auncient and graue behaviour: Neither do they consider that by this meanes, they do weaken that liberall, and ingenious disposition, which I knowe no comparison of others, to bee in mee: Shall I neuer come out of this bondage and gouernment? Shall I neuer liue at my owne pleasure? Must I euer be ruled by others?

R 3

They

Ludus.

They call also in derision the scoole a play; were we scarce play, but I am put thither, that they may play vpon my skinne; and such as I am. A playe indeede, nay a most vnpleasant place where still I am either beaten, or afraide; There I must euer liue vnder a tyrant, who if hee inflict any punishment, I cannot appeale from him, hee himselfe accuseth, subscribeth, inquireth, knoweth, and punisheth.

Thus doe their ieastringes prooue earnest to vs, and in their confidence they rule in this play as if they were in earnest. Thou shalt neuer see them, but frowning to terrifie vs. But alas, what learne wee there, and against our willes to? what rewarde haue wee of this dayly and continuall labor? and of such vexation? vnlesse peradventure they thinke it concernes the Commonwealt, to haue our tender wittes wrapped vp in these trifles, & to sticke fast in these rough thornie quidities of Grammer: For what else shall I call these letters, sillable, nownes, verbes, inflections, coniugations, terminations, cases, tenses, Syntaxis, exceptions, and to conclude whatsoeuer els is contained in those harte rules of Grammer? Which (notwithstanding) they vrge and boast of, as a thing serious, and the hight of all learning. Must our wits be thus miserable tormenmed, as though there were nothing, which could more pleasantly bee learned, or more profitablie bee knowne? Is this
tha

that advantage that I haue to bee borne noblie, or honestly as I am? I would to God I had bene borne in some poore cottage, in no reckoning, or account, there might I haue liued more at libertie: there euerie man is wise enough without a teacher: there is no such word, as a more liberall education, which I thinke to bee harde seruitude: there no man is kept in so straitly: neither are manners there so carefully and exactly squared by the rules of this scrupelous and odious ciuilitie, which destroyeth the manners, which men haue by nature, and changeth them into feined counterfeite and composed manners, which you may better call a counterfainting of an ingenious disposition.

There those that are my equalles liue with little respect, or reuerence to their parents and elders: there euerie man followeth his naturall libertie: at least they are freed from this feare, which continually makes me sweate, and no mannaile, if I bring out my wordes slowly, and stumblingly: if (neuer at my owne gouernment) I liue a life vnpleasant, and vn-sweete. But (they say) this is the way to honestie, to honor, to dignitie, whatsoeuer in mans life is rare, to bee wished for, to bee admired, it is propounded, and allotted to no other, then those who haue their childhood and youth trayned in those learnings.

These or such like euerie vnskillfull fellow vrgeth, warranted by authority, rather then reason; because they
make

make a faire show, which I can neuer be perswaded
are truly spoken: so farre doe my senses not only
abhorre from these things, but from the me-
more of them. Well, howsoeuer
it is, I thinke they are not of
that value to be bought at
so deire a price.

(*)

CHAP.





Heare I do teach the childe how he may lay
 aside this infection, and show him-
 selfe thankfull un-
 to God,

CHAP. 211



Vrely I maruaile, how these ill thoughts
 so soone creepe into so young a mind;
 which being corrupted: I do lesse mar-
 uaile, such speeches to come into a
 mouth so prating, and full of talke.
 Heare my sonne: if yet, thou art not full of goodnesse
 (for from whence shouldest thou haue it)? yet thou
 oughtest to be voyd of euill. But thou (in the very
 entrance) showest how readie thou art to euill,
 whilst thou professest those things, from which, if
 modestie could not, yet the knowledge of thy owne
 ignorance, ought to restraine thee. But as in a fruit-

S

full

full soyle, poysoned weeds doe grow of their owne accord, when as wholesome hearbs scarce grow without tilling, so in the minde of man, if discipline and wholesome precepts do not first possesse him, there may be easily reaped a haruest of much ill, which I do obserue in thee at this time; Thou disdaynest that thou liuest at an other mans gouernment. Here let me aske of thee, if thou knowest what it is to liue. I know, thou wilt answere me that to liue is nothing els but to be: For those that are dead are nor: Consider in this speech how much ignorance thou bewrayest, thus things without life do liue, because they are, why dost thou blush? I know thou wishest it vnspoken, this witte of thine, doth in this discouer his ignorance; take heed therefore that thou do not say, that thou liuest because thou art: I confesse nothing hath life, but that which is, but to man there must something more be added to make him liue, not the life of plants, hearbes, and such like, nor the life of beastes, but of men, the life of man is the societie, and vnion both of bodie and soule. The soule is a deuine breath, which infused into the body doth moue it with his owne and proper motion.

Therefore thou mayst call man a body animated, or rather a reasonable soule composed with a bodie, giuen vnto it for his gouernour. Therefore when we say man liues, wee doe not say man only vseth the offices of the body, but of the soule, which possesseth the

the bodie as an instrument, or a se uant, or a slaue: If then thou vnderstandest what are the offices of the soule, thou shalt obserue that the same are the offices of the whole man: this doth the soule, at this it aymeth, to make it selfe, and the bodie (that is the whole man) like vnto God. So that, humanitie is nothing els, but a certaine diuinitie, exprest in this mortall flesh: now with what steppes dost thou think do wee ascend into this high dignitie? Surely, with *pietie* and good *manners*, *pietie* we haue sayd to be a true knowledge and worship of God: *manners* are the fruites and effects of *pietie*, or rather a *pietie*, which seasons the affections, from whence it is dispersed into the sences; then seeing to liue, is nothing else but dayly to be purgd, to waxe pure, to be lifted vp, and more vnited to God; man (in his life) ought to propound no other thing but *pietie* and reformation of his *manners*: to bee indued with these not of any sorte, but with the least, the most chaste, the most seuer, the most holy.

Thus thou seest, that thou art not borne by chance, but of purpose and to a great ende, namely that thou mayst bee come religious, and holy, and a renued Image of that Dicty, that framed thee.

Now I demand of thee, if thou of thy selfe knowest what these are, which I haue named *piety* & *maners*. I think thou wilt answer, that thou knowest not those things, which thou canst not know, vnles thou learne

them; and now thou confessest that thou art ignorant of vertue, which is nothing else but a *Pietie* working in the inward man, and showinge it selfe foorth in his life, in one word, vertue is nothing else, but *active pietie*. Now thou must needs confesse that thou knowest not what it is to liue, be not afraide to confesse it, It is an excellent thing (saith *Columella*) and hee is a wise and a skilfull writer, who vnderstandeth that hee is ignorant of that hee knoweth not, and desireth to learne that, whereof he is ignorant, If thou art ignorant, thou art to bee taught, and to bee instructed.

Dislike not this speech as too hard. For in the increase of yeares, and when thou hast more experience, thou shalt finde thy selfe full of rashnes and ouermuch loue; what art thou to be taught? to know to loue, to follow God, and consequently to auoyde those things which God hateth & abhorreth. These are the true effects of that *Pietie*, which I haue spokē off; and vntill thou comest to this degree of knowledge and vertue (beleeue me) thou art not a man, but halfe a wilde beast; that is a mans body in shape, but inwardly full of sauadge, and wild behauiour. Therefore if thou wilt be wholly a man, not halfe a man, and halfe a beast, yeeld thy selfe wholly into the gouernēt of thy soule; let thy soule with the bridle of reason, rule thy affections; let thy affections commaund thy senses, then shall thy senses bee contained within the lymittes and boundes of chastitie, holinesse,
Inno-

Innocency ; they shalbe such as is fit, for those that are seruants to the soule , Thus thou shalt frame *Pyety* vnto thy selfe, that most holy good, and the fountaine of all good things. From *Pyety*, *Holinesse* is disperst into the manners ; both these waies directly lead vs to that most happy estate which I haue spoken of before, which is a likenesse of God . Thus according to that towardnesse that is in thee , thou art wholly to be stirred vp, wholly to be inflamed, with an honest desire, to lay aside whatsoeuer sauadge disposition is in thee ; that thou maist bee wholly a man, and from being a man be translated into God . I doe see thy mind which out goes thy age, I see thy sparkes of gentility, which if thou follow rightly, doubtlesse thou shalt attaine this honor. I see those branches of vertue in thee , swelling full readie to burst forth. I do see the blossomes forerunners of thy shining vertue ; therefore proceede to lend thy mind and thy eares to my counsell, thither, whither thou must goe, nothing can bring thee but seuerity of education . The ground (though it be fruitful) yet it is tamed with the plough; the clods must be broken, harrowed, and the whole field duly husbanded ; in this maner there must be a violence done to thee; thy wit must be manured, which thogh it bee good , yet till then it is vntilled and full of thornes , from thence must bee weeded whatsoeuer is hurtfull ; oftentimes must it be turned ouer, and brought vnder, that it may be ciuill, soft and tender;

that it may bee bettered and fit for to receiue good seedes; this is the digging and pruning of it, to cutt off that which is superfluous, luxuriant, and hurtfull; in the country this is done in the earth; in the vine, in the braunches, in the trees; with thee, in the mind, in the affections, in the senses, in the words, in the manners. This is neuer done, without much wearinesse of the husbandmen, and not without some vexation vnto thee; whilst the person is cured, they set farre from him the touch of those meates which are not only apparently hurtfull, but of those which are somewhat vnwholesome; the one ouerthrow the strength of medecines, the other hinder it; so, when the witte is tamed with the force of education, with all, thou art to bee drawne from thy desires, thy delightes, thy pleasures, thy insolent spirits are to bee suppressd, and kept vnder, thy insulting and quicke wit is to bee contained within the bonds of frugality and modesty; amongst all vertues there are none fitter for that age, none fitter to receiue learning; thy opinion beeing at that yeares (if thou hast any) is to be directed by the sentence and will of an other; thou must of necessity wholly depende vpon the iudgment of those, to whome thou art committed; these are those carefull workemen, of so great a taske; who vndertake to perfect, and finish what nature hath begunne; Doubtlesse thou art thrice happy, if timely thou gainest this discipline, and indeede more seuer and more sincere,
by

by the helpe whereof thou shalt passe those shallowes of sinne, and wickednesse wherein so manie men (although well instructed) vnfortunately sinkes; whose maisters haue not so much instructed their toward dispositions, as haue armed their vices; I will vse the examples of great men, *Alcibiades* and *Crycias* (the daily auditors of *Zocrates*) were principally instructed, who can deny it? Yet neither of them was honest, Nay both rather the reproach and staine, not onely of their families, but of the Common-wealth. For the one assaulted his countrey, and with the others riches was the liberty of it shaken. What shall I say of *Nero*? was there euer any man better taught? Did euer any man liue more monstrously? I could easily remember many such out of auntient and late stories, and I would do it, if it were not needelesse to teache a thinge so well knowne, that many haue prooued very farre vnlike to their beginnings and their first education.

Now what doe you thinke shall happen to them, which are left to themselues? VWho are left neglected, and vntaught? In how dangerous, how slippery, how headelong a place are they? Are they not withall laide open to a Worlde of vices, to the froth of infecting pleasures, to the dangerous tempests of sinne? Must not these expect in the end, an ineuitable shiep-wracke? not to detain thee longe, it must bee confest, that without
discipline

discipline, men are not made men, but forged the vnhappy & deformed brood of villany, and so the hatefull procurers of Gods wrath. Moreouer thou complaineſt, that thy maners are ſeuereſly corrected, and thy wits informed into wiſedome with auntient rigour & ſtrict diſcipline, leaſt they ſhould be weakened & deformed with vices. Surely if it be not done at this time (& with all ſpeed) it will neuer be done. It is once done, that it neede not euer bee done; and it is done now, that it may not bee done too late, For it is much to be accuſtomed to any thing, when one is yong, I do not deny but amidſt the cares of maners, and the ſtudy of learning, remiſſion of labour, play and recreation are to be granted to thee; ſo that, that whatſoener be, be done warily, moderately, and tempred with holineſſe, and modeſty. Therefore the firſt and moſt labourſome work of thy education, is in ſweeping, purging and preparing of thee: Next vnto this, is another care not much leſſe, ſowing, planting, ingrafting in thee, and ſuch like; for it is to little purpoſe to plough, vnleſſe thou ſowe; to pull vp, vnleſſe thou plant; to prune, vnleſſe thou ingraft; theſe offices as far forth as they belong to thy education, are earneſt and ſeaſonable admonitions, wholeſome precepts, which are an effectuall meanes of perſwading, and of inſtilling into the minde that feare and reuerence of God, which is the poſſeſſour of a pure heart, and a chaſt mind, the worker of all holineſſe, & to conclude the reconciler of God and man.

From

From hence it followeth, that that which wee call learning, leadeth him directly vnto this. Now learning no man throughly obtaineth, without the help of seuerer discipline, which thou lately blamedst; one part of learning is the knowledge of things created, and of all those things which are without vs; but there is an other part, which is more inward, true, and better, which is the true knowledge of God, and of himselfe, so farre as the minde of man is capable of them, this knowledge we call true wisdom: which then truly is so, when there cleaueth to it a true strength of the minde, gathered and collected from true precepts, and worthy & honourable examples. This is that which good learning promiseth, and performeth, not to euery learner, but onely to him, whose good and fortunate wit hath admitted learning, that it may be as a help to a good mind. Now when I say learning, I meane no such thing as the vulgar thinke, that is, a vaine ostentation of learned schollership, that which furthereth a man nothing to the feare of God; that learning for which so many insolent and triuall Saterists knit their browes, as men busied in most weighty affaires, when indeede all that great noise they make, is nothing els, but swelling & importunity: and no thing more vile learned then such learning. Neither doe I meane that learning, which hath buried those auntient manners; the forerunners of lust (which these effeminate halfe learned men, that haue an itch of Poetizing) long
T since,

since, haue made a band of it. Let this learning pack
hence which is nothing but a corrupter to wanton-
nesse. Neither doe I meane that learning which he
vseth, who at this day is a great man:

*Who with all care great riches doth obtaine
Before learn'd labour, still preferring gaine*

Nor to conclude that drosse and scum of learning,
or whatloeuer in learning, profitable may bee vn-
knowne. That I account learning, which so beautifi-
eth a man outwardly, that inwardly it dooth arme
him, and instruct him, whether he speake or hold
his peace: silent in manners, and innocency:
speaking in wisdom and eloquence. Now to lear-
ning, there is no entrance, but by *Grammer*; I confesse
the entrance to *Grammer* is so hard, so thorny, that
it seemes to bee without any path, there is nothing
can delight him that cometh to it, but cheerdly
Hope. *Hope* sure and deare. And as amongst thorns of-
tentimes are gathered sweet roses, so by the knotty
and vnpleasant pathes of *Grammer*, we come to the
sweetenesse of pure, and reformed speech: From
hence to the knowledge of those arts, which doe car-
ry a man to that knowledge of God, whereof mor-
tality is capable.

Therefore, that which now thou fearest as hard,
hereafter thou wilt imbrace as pleasant; that which
is now horrid and ill saoured; after, thou shalt see
the same beautifull, that which thou callest drie, and
barren,

barren, thou wilt maruaile for the plenty of it to
bee so fruitfull. and for the profit to bee so sweete;
Doubt not but hony followeth this gall; the time
will come, and it is not farre of, when hauing power
ouer thy selfe, thou shalt vnderstand these things
to bee truly and holesomely spoken. Neither then
wilt thou complaine to bee called to an account, for
that which thou doost childishly and ignorantly;
thou wilt not then wish thy selfe borne in that estate
and condition, where childishnesse and all thy other
time may bee spent without shame of offending,
without feare, and reuerence of thy betters; with-
out teaching, without hope of any after-reward; thou
wilt then confesse that feare to bee a profitable af-
fection, and an ornament; not a signe of thy no-
bilitie, or a title of thy kindred, but a great and
a verie honourable token of that ingenious docility,
and vertuous capacity, that is ingrafted in thee.
This respect and reuerence a pledge of thy future
modesty, the imbracing of these liberall arts, to bee
the approaching haruelt of much vertue; the hope
of rewarde and the sure guide; that leads to re-
warde, what shall I vse many words? That which
nowe seemes vnto thee a hard seruitude, is a sweete
condition; This is the hie vvaie to true liberty.
This feare begetteth true ioye; learne my sonne
hereafter to bee as thankfull; as thou hast now
shewed thy selfe vnthankfull, laye quite aside
this vvantonnesse in time; take to thy selfe thoughts,

simple, pure, honest and vpright. Humbly worship God, to whom thou art so deere and intimate, who that thou maist be perpetually his, will haue thee (being young) framed like vnto himselfe, and by that meanes (vnwillingly, & struiuing against) yet of wit docible and capable to bring thee vnto him. Next vnto God, reuerence thy parents, and all those, who are placed ouer thee, as domestical magistrates, who in care and good-wil succeed in the place of parents, and bring thee vp liberally & ingeniously, that thou maist one day giue ful assurance, that thou weart profitably borne to thy selfe and the common wealth. Of these thou must confesse, that thou art beloued, & beloued againe; when they do load thee (who art but halfe a man) with those gifts of the mind; that thou maist be a whole man, in euery respect absolute; & so wholly dedicate thy self to God; that thou maist wholly be pyety, and holines, which is the full perfection of all Humane felicitie.

(* * * *)
 (* * * *)
 (* *)

CHAP.



Heare I do teach that weomen are not
lesse vntthankfull then those, whom
I haue remembred.

CHAP 22

IN this cause, and in this kinde, a wo-
man is next vnto a childe. Few do co-
raine their hopes, few their speeches, in
the bounds of womanly modestie, &
the shamesfastnesse of their sex, whilst
they complaine, that they are
vnworthely vsed, whilst they are vneasura-
bly angry at their sex, as being weake & vnequall
to their great minds. In one word, whilst they (from
minde not to bee comforted) complaine that they
are weomen, they accuse openly and greatly God,
that did thus make them. There is scarce any, who
haue

haue not these and the like thoughts in them. Oh, woe is me, why was I not borne a man, who haue a minde not vnfit for any thing. Must I be tyed to this sex which is a bondslauē to idleness, and slouth? What do I (wretch that I am) follow vertue, to whom nature hath giuen no generous spirits? And which least they should show themselves, they must against my will bee choakt and suppress? Why foole that I am do I aspire to any honour, to any renowne, or a reward of vertue, to whom all the passages of vertue are shut vp? O vaine instinct, O noble spirits, ingrafted in me idly, which are confinde in that short roome of this obeying sex, whereof I am greeued, ashamed, and repent.

There is great in aequallitie in a minde that is not weake, and a condition so much to bee repented of: Thus haue wee a perpetuall conflict with our selues, and a cruell torment wherewith we are afflicted. If I may say it, to what ende haue wee so much acute-nesse, sharpenesse, vnderstanding and quickenesse graunted to vs? To what purpose haue we such a nimble witte, such a swift minde? But that these things may be a torment to vs, by whose meanes wee vnderstand those things which wee are kept from? Is it not that wee may bee vnprofitably angry at other mens ignorance and slouth, that we seriously may greeue to see dull and slouthfull heades possesse those rooms, that belong vnto vs. For what profit is it to know, that which it is in vaine to know?

to be able to vse that which wee must not touch? to strue to goe thither, fro whence we are kept backe? wee are forbidden the knowledge and profession of liberall arts: wee are commended to abstaine from publike offices: wee cannot attaine to the honor due to warres, nor those valliant actes, because forsooth in these things, there is most vertue which they say is deriued from hence, in that it belonges vnto men.

Is it not plaine that wee are excluded from all hope of honor, and from all those thinges which are greatest and most to bee desired? which thinges being taken from vs, what is there left vs, for which our condition may seeme (I doe not say to bee wisht for) but to bee tollerable. Wee are set to trifles, wherewith in the meane time wee are delighted as children with faile speeches and flatterie; with which wee are loaded, whilst wee are robbed of true praise, and that which is most to bee lamented, wee are partners in those thinges, wherein men gaine their most prayse, and yet they ascribe it only to themselves: where wee haue any thing to doe, there is nothing of any moment.

And it is no maruayle, if wee bee admitted into no societie of name and honor with men,

The prayse of whole Countreyes belonges vnto men, only Tryumphes, victories, all honors they are mens: and we (as all other thinges) are but

but the aditions of those prayles that are giuen to men. But this indignitie (marke their craft) they mitigate with the lenitie of wordes, whilst they call vs wiues, fellowes, and their companiōs in all things; when indeede (if a man esteeme it rightly) there is no equality betwixt vs & them, no communion of dignitie and authoritie, but that which is trifling and in name only. Whereas indeede wee are reckoned vp amongst other ordinarie household-stuffe, little better then bondslaues, and yet for the burden and labour, we haue more then the greater part. And as we are kept from all good things, so we beare almost alone all the burden of their ill. If men haue begun any thing that they cannot goe through, we must finish it: If they offend abroad, we must smart for it at home: the sorrowe of their madde pleasures lights vpon vs; Men, they haue the pleasures, the delights; but we haue the sorrow, wee haue the teares; men, they haue the reward of their labours, wee only haue the necessitie of it: Our frugalitie must maintaine their riot, our obedience must increase their licentiousnes, our modestie their fearenes: whilst euery one of them pleaseth himselfe, and taketh delight in whatsoeuer pleaseth him, we (in the meane time) sitte like lambs, cripples within our doores, not Idle, but commanded to take care of the house, and set vnto those busineses, wherein there is nothing but paine bondage. This is that, which increaseth our grieffe, for in the house, what tedious seruitude are wee tide vnto?

First

First of all, the education of our children is referd vnto vs, which is some ease of the intollerable labours of child birth; In this, our husbands do notably abuse our affections, for because wee are mothers, they say this burthen belongs to the mother only, which indeede were fit equally to be borne of both; and as we are daughters, we are immediatly as an vnprofitable burthen put out of our fathers house, & sent to liue with strangers; thus we goe from the gouernment of our parents into the hands of our husbands, new Lords, whose dispositions (how crosse soeuer) we must suffer euen against our willes; & without any hope of a more tollerable condition: If wee bee widowes, then are wee subiect to wrongs, and layd open without defence to all iniuries, & reproaches, forsaken of all, yea, oftentimes of those, of whom it is little fit wee should: I grant, there are some things granted vnto as great fauours, which indeede may be reckoned amongst those scoffes, & derisions that are vsed towards vs; that is our cleanelines, and ornaments, and all those furnitures which they call the womans world; thus are wee deckt like painted birdes, only to please others. And as children haue toyes giuen to please them, so are we thus painted only to content our husbands: May not any man see these scoffinges? Is it not enough that we are contemned, but we must be thus made a scorne and derision? We are forbidden to meddle with any thing; wee are kept from publicke offices, wee are neuer

V

suffered

suffered to come abroad, but as some solemne pomp
 which is caried to be scene; wee are forbidden to ob-
 taine those commendations which are true prayes,
 wee are shut vp in our houses as perpetual prisoners,
 wee are by the name of wines subiect to other plea-
 sures, brought vnder an vniust government. Thus
 doe they abuse our simplicitie. In one word, if your
 respect either beautie, or witte, we must confesse wee
 are placed high enough, but from thence wee
 are cast downe, to that lowe estate, that
 wee haue lost all that is
 excellent.

(****)

CHAP.



Here the woman is diligently admonished that
omitting all vniust complaints against God,
shee acknowledgeth that the bene-
fits bestowed vpon her, are
not lesse; then those bestow-
ed vpon men.

CHAP. 23.

Doe heare this old complaint, not ther-
fore iust because it is old, but in this the
more vniust, in that it is more commō,
and more vsuall: Thou oughtest longe
since (O woman) to haue vnderstoode
the dignitie of thy condition; and this knowledge
long since ought to haue ben a bridle to thy vntamed
minde, to thy foolishnes, licentiousnes, and to thy
intemperate tongue.

Thou oughtest long since to haue knowne, that thou
art a man, the whom (in that he is the second frō god)
there is no creature vpon earth more high, more ex-
lent; this very name (man) ought to haue takē away al
emulation:

emulation; seeing to man there can bee none with himselfe: Neither art thou only the sister of man, but mans twinn, or rather (if thou wilt so haue it) another man, not lesse in dignitie then that first, but only in the order of birth later, in sex distinguished from him, but proceeding from the same high power, wrought by the same hand of that great workeman, made of the same beginning, both linckt to one another, in that, neither goeth contrary waies, neither ayming at himselfe, but both (nature being their guide) lincked to his mate, both agree in this neerenes, or rather vnitie, in wishes, intent, in loue, that this Common wealth of man-kinde may not bee rent in factions, but in many kindes, preserving an vnitie: and that, that Image of God may remaine one, and the same, not in one man, but (which is more excellent) in all.

Seeing then, from the same beginniges thou art brought by the same meanes, to the same end, wherunto all mortalitie tendeth, see how far thou differest, not only from man, but from humanitie, when thou dost so malipertly complaine that thou art indued with a soule degenerous & fit for nothing. Consider here (if thou art not much deceiued;) thou shalt not degenerate, if thou dost neither depart nor dissent from the author, if in humilitie thou submittest thy necke to that yoke thou art appointed, if constantly, thou beare this without complayning: not to bee degenerous (bee not deceiued) is not to meddle

meddle about thy reach; but to containe thy selfe within the limits of thy dutie, not to wander from thy first beginnings, not to be unlike thy selfe, but firmly and continually, to apply that, to which thou art allotted. Now consider with mee what is that task that **GOD** hath set thee vnto; thou art made to this ende, that thou maist bee an other man, if thou art another, thou canst not bee the first, therefore constantly keepe that place, that is allotted to thee; that which is anothers, belongs nothing to thee. For there is nothing more acceptable to God, then for all men to act those parts, that are committed to them. This thy sex is that great and large theater, wherein all this must bee done. Out of this, thou art out of thy parte, thou art nothing, thou canst not please God. To this sex is appointed to watch; to this watch, diligence; to both feare. VVhat moueth thee (O thou wretch) that thou art to be a runnagate from this so profitable an affection? what loosenesse is this of thy weak minde, that thou which art borne to care, and watchfullnesse, shouldest serue boldnesse, and feirenesse? Instead of a mind firme and constant, to take vnto thy selfe a minde degenerous; that departing from it selfe, taking care of other things and forgetting her owne, that thou art placed in safety goest into a place slippery, and so heading and fall of rockes. Surely one that is so borne, nothing doth so well beseme them, as a disposition

quiet & modest; wherof thou art well admonisht by thy habit, in that thou art maskt & hooded. As soone as thou art desirous of rule, and seekest to deale with those things; that are aboue thy strength & capacity; and as soone as by incountting daungers thou wilt shew how valiant and strong thou art; thou dost put off that woman, that God made thee, & puttst vpon thee, I know not what shape of a mōster, thou canst not lay aside thy womanish dispositiō, but thou stai- nest it with manlike vices; neither is it strange, if all men abhorre that kinde of women as vnlikely, which laying aside their modest garments and behauiour, put theselues in armour, commanding their troopes of souldiers, challenging the enemy; which haue such foreheads that they dare make long orations to the people, to giue lawes; and to conclude: handle all publique and ciuill duties; this sex ought to bee acquainted with none of these actions; these motions, nature hath denied vnto them: If any Woman ouer impudently affect these, ouer-violently be carried to this course, shee is no more a Woman, but an vntamed creature, which treadeth vnder foote all Womanish ornaments: But thou saist all these praises men haue. Indeeде it is so, and rightly by order, for the good of the common wealth, And as becōmeth men: it belongs vnto a man with valiant acts to make waie to those honours, without which, their vertues are nothing els but slouth, for euery power of the minde that hath not his ende propounded

propounded doth wax faint, and if no man dooth affect praise, if no man desire to bee made Noble by dangers, If vertue haue nothing to awake it, straight all society of life is troubled and confused, the Common wealeh is left to bee torne in peeces, by euery bale fellow. There is nothing sacred or holy, no man shall haue any substance: outrages shall possesse all places: boldnesse shall challenge all things to it selfe: to conclude, we shall neuer liue a life safe, and secure; but wandring and full of scarcity. Therefore God hath prouidently ingrafted in men this desire of performing hard things, and so of obtaining praise: the worker of those things which in this mortalitie are greatest. I doe not thinke in this there is an enuie that dooth trouble thee: for so thou enuieest thy selfe, so thou shouldest looke asquint at thy owne good, there is nothing with thee seuered from thy husband. No not thy beeing; nor any of these things which belong vnto thee, or wherein thy safety and welfare consisteth. Beeing thus admitted to bee his companion of his goods, thou art admitted into fellowship of his goodnessse, and of his praise, and art honoured with that glory which thy husband doth cast vpon thee: neither is it strange, if both your wishes be contained in either, If thou pertakest with his prosperity and aduersity. For thou canst not if thou wouldest putte off this minde, nor abrogate this lawe of Nature; may not breake this same league;

league; these same tauntes and disdainfull gaulings of the mind, which so much trouble thee, account them no more to be the effects of true gentility then mushrooms, burres, thistels, and such like are to be tearmed fruites. Take heed that thou dost not forget that modesty, which is more gracious then any fauour, and fairer then any beautie. Thou canst not ascribe too much to thy selfe, but with all thou must despise thy husband; and how farre thou departest from feare, shame and respect; so farre thou departest from those vertues, which may truly be called iewels, of that sex, pretious without cost, and so pretious, that they ought to be esteemed as life, and ransomed with death. Therefore this violence of minde, vnprofitable and vnseemely, containe within the bovndes and limits of modesty; bee not over wittie to abuse those good-gifts that nature hath lent thee, make not vnto thy selfe a needelesse businesse; but wholly addict thy selfe to his loue and obedience, to whome this sex of thine hath tyed thee; especially to that diuine will, wherein it is fit, all humane desires be extinguisht: if thy care be any, let it bee this, to cut off all womanish complaint, and foolish wrangling, neuer bee putt vp with inconsiderate violence, neuer trouble thy selfe with an needelesse labour: whatsoeuer liketh thy husband let it please thee: wherein he placeth thy name, dignity & honor in that rest. To conclude, so resolute, that as he is born to the common-wealth, so thou art borne to him. For God
will

will haue our whole life contained in these limittes, *Commandement* and *Obeaience*. These are those two firme bondes; wherewith all humane societie is tyed. God commandeth and man obeieyth. But that, due obedience may be giuen to that wise Creator of all things, hee hath giuen and disposed to euery man his speciall charge; to men, to be Gods vicegerents; to women, to be mens helpers; thou canst not inuert this order, but thou must bee equall to thy husband. For when thou ceaseest to obey, thou beginnest to be his equal; if equal, to be his superiour, if his superior, surely to bee his worse, because thou wilt bee wise or otherwise then **G O D** hath appointed; who would haue both you to liue in obedience to him, and betwixt your selues in that order which hee hath set downe, and to those that do this, hee hath submitted all this (how great soeuer) frame of his creatures; and hath allotted to you wisdom, & vnderstanding fit for it; to him, what is fit for commanding, to thee, what is for obeying; hence it is that thou oughtest to permit vnto thy husband all the gouernment of thy minde, and the strength of it; neither think that thy husband doth ad more to your common good; by this knowledge and power of commanding, but thou dost as much by thy diligence of obeying; and in that thou art not hazarded in publique dangers, know that this is for thy honor, who as a more pretious vessel, art kept safer. To what end then are so many complaints? what meane this foolish quar-

X

reling

reling with God? How art thou becom so talkatiue? so ingenious? so subtile, in reproach and dishonour of that sacred power? Dost thou diligently obserue those vertues, which are the ornaments of thy sex? Dost thou thinke those small which are reckoned amongst the greatest honours, because the greatest cannot bee without them? Doe not herein shine those neuer enough esteemed ornaments, which haue aduanced some women to the highest honour? amongst these I must account those Women who excell in this, that they respect the bringing vppe of their children; whereof that thou art made an ouerseer, believe mee the greatest businesse of all is committed to thee; for Education is nothing else but the information of the whole life, which way this leaneth, doubtlesse that way doth a man bende. A diligent and innocent education vsually maketh men good; but a negligent and wicked, maketh them euill. Education is contained in the motherly affection, diligence, looking to, admonitions, chastenings: all these things (in the tendetnesse of age) doe drawe the first lines of vertue or vice; those staines or honours that after rest vpon our liues, here do first take roote. Now consider how much is committed to thee, to whom the whole man is committed. Dost thou then complaine that thou art euill dealt with all, and that thy vertues are shutte vppe in a narrow roome? Doubtlesse this is a place large and conspicuous, where thou maist shew them as thou doost
vsc

Use thy care; this is no seruile office, all things in this are not only ingenious, but full of honour, suitely man of both kindes, when he considereth his birth, riseth to thee, dooth reuerence and doth worship thee, as his parent, and a parent in a two fold respect, both by the office of nature and the dignity of bringing vp. For it were little that hope committed to thee in thy wombe, by thy husband with a happy successe to bring into the World, if this latter care also were not added, which formeth and frameth the minde to all humanitie. Oh honorable name of a parent, O excellent prerogative of that mother of the family, with whose vertues the whole house dooth shine: Oh happy family, wherein the sayings of a choyce and wise Woman, are so many instructions, and her deeds so many vertuous examples of religion, chastitie, and holinesse, to this may bee added the care of looking to the house, which thou maist performe with frugalitie and sparing. These are those vertues, whereunto if thou apply thy whole minde, thou shalt gaine vnto thy selfe nobility, and honour; these are those thinges which nature, manners, lawes, impose vpon women & these businesses & cares oftentimes exclude those vices, which are vsually incident to that sex; wilfull leuity, motions variable and inconstant, prating, preposterous ambition, by themselves, by their husbands, by their children, in their power much weakenesse, impatiency of delay, sicknesse of hope,

X 2

wantonnesse,

wantonnes; ready anger, ryot, boldnesse, confidence
an immoderate mind; and all those other monsters
that doe rise from these; wherewith too many laying
aside all modesty, doubt not to staine their wo-
manish ornaments. Besides, oftentimes this sex is
lifted vp, to the noblest vertues; yea, many times the
most honorable vertues are more conspicuous and
eminent in women, then in men.

*The Greekes did feare Penthesleas hand,
The wals of Carthage did a Woman build:
And Babilon her hundred gates that proud do stand:
Weare by a woman with that honour filld*

Besides, as the examples of womē are more rare, then
of men; so they are more glorious and more pow-
erfull in respect of valour. Haue not those times
often fallen out, wherein the common wealth by the
hand of women, from a headlong danger, hath been
set in safety? peruse the ancient histories, there is
nothing so common as the great mindes of women;
by whome decaying armies haue been strengthe-
ned, and the warres ended; sometimes by opposing
their breasts, & sometimes by interposing their prai-
ers, examples of valiant actes made vnto poste-
rity, not onely of modesty, and chastity, but
also of an vndaunted spirit, and that which is
farre more admirable and of a certaine rare
and

and deuine providence; and of those admirable answers whereunto the euents haue giuen credit and authoritie: These we must confesse are not only worthy of prayse but admiration; if these thinges be required by the vertue of a present necessitie. For although it be true that this sex is not framed for these things, yet it is not altogether abhorred from them; neither is vertue forbidden to chuse out seuerall persons; and indeede it doth so, for laying hand vpon some weoman, and arresting them to obey her, thus shee blameth men: What haue I to doe with you sluggards? I will hence forth animate the hearts of these; I will inflame their mindes, arme their hands, and I will wholly fit them to deserue well of the common-wealth, that ye being sluggish, may be twise ashamed, and these awaked to honorable actions, may be more glorious. From hence wee may gather, that there are not fewer seedes of vertue and valour ingrafted in women, than in men; and both of the (vnder the same yoke) must draw to the cōmon good. Although to men vsually belong publicke affairs, & to womē priuat; & as those require strength so these require diligence. And besides, the time will oftē fall out, whē both these are to be mixt together; as publickly and priuately it shall be needefull: Neither thus are the duties of both sexes confounded, but the hand that is readier and better furnisht for the businesse in hand, whether it be of the man or the woman, ought seasonably to vndertake it: Then the

strength and courage of the minde shall not be hindered either by sex or weakenesse of bodie. And although these things thus happen extraordinarily, yet they are done in order, because they haue God for their author: who then stirreth vp manlike minds, when there is neede of manlike vertues; without this warrant, it is not lawfull for a woman to outpasse the limits of her sex, and to vsurpe the dutie of man: no more then for a man to put of all humanitie and to be wise aboue God. But to retorne from whence I began, I say (O Woman) thou art to haue fetters put on thy feete; not those wherewith that *Venus Morpho* was bound amongst the *Lacedemonians*; but those which keepe in the lasciuiousnes of thy minde; which restraine the immodestie both of thy words and deedes, and thy too licentious habits; then thou art to haue a ring vpon thy lippes, not of brasse, as was the custome of the Egyptian women, but a bond to keepe thee in silence; for nothing is fitter for thee then humble spirits: a meane in speaking, and the wisdom in being silent. To conclude, thou art to be girded with the girdle of holines, that which way soeuer thou goest, there may breath those sweet and deuine smells of thy vertues, and whosoever seeth thee, may not see so much a woman, as acknowledge an excellent patterne of all vertue. Then when thou art such a one, there remaines (for thee) honourable and great rewardes of fame, honor, dignitie; all which are not laide a side for men,
as

as for the more worthie, but are communicated with you as equall.

In the meane time, whatsoeuer may be giuen vnto hee, are abundantly heapt vpon thee, those are those ensignes of honor, wherewith the auncient and present wisdom doth crowne thee. From hence ariseth much reuerence of thee, then which no sex or sex, or humanitie to humanitie can perform a greater and more honorable dignitie. I neede not remember examples of the present time, because they proceede from those auncient; what is more knowne then those Romane laws, and lawes like the Romans? We know the Matrons were not to rise vp to the Magistrate, lest they should channce to hurt them, or to vse them euill being with child; nor that their husbands going in Coaches with them should come downe: others not lesse then these, that men should giue way to women, that they might weare ear-rings, and other differences of head-tires, that they may vse purple and golde cloathes, that they may bee carried through the streetes: all which things are giuen to women, either for a rewarde or a benefite: as G O D himselfe reacheth in the 16. Chapter of *Ezechiell*. I clothed thee also with fine broydered worke, and shodd thee with badgers skinnes, and girded thee about with fine linnen, and couered thee with silke; I decked thee also with ornemens; and I put braceletes vpon thy hands: and a chaine vpon thy necke: and

I put a frontlet vpon thy face, and eare-rings in thy eares, and a beautifull crowne vpon thy head: Thus weart thou decked with golde and siluer, and thy raiment was of fine linnen and silke: for these and greater then these, men bestow vpon women, arguments of their loue, and speciall affection, that it may be vnderstood, that no sexe is either better or worse then other, but modestly and louingly to agree betwixt themselues; nor that women is not the second, but another ornament of humanitie: both must strue in this, which may be more worthie of reuerence, which loue one another better: Therefore (O women) repress thy vnsatisfied and ambitious desires, and as one furnisht with all excellent ornaments, at length learne to worshippe God, and acknowledge his benefites, lay aside all complaints, suppress thy foolish speeches, put vpon thee a thankfull minde, if thou wilt needs complaine; complaine of thy selfe, that being betrothed (as it were) with so many benefites of God, yet thou withdrawest thy selfe as vnthankfull and vnmindefull of thy duty: remooue this infamie, blot out this staine, and place in steede thereof, an ingenious and thankfull minde liked of him, whom to please, is eternall happinesse.

* * *



The number of vntthankfull persons, none
more increaseth then he that is of mans estate,
as appeareth by his vntthankfull, and
complaining speech in complay-
ning of the world.

CHAP. 24

Do not maruaile that a childe, and a
woman, should be found vntthankfull,
when men that are of ripe yeares are
infected with this poyson, who is there
that modestlie beareth the benefits be-
flowed vpon him? who is there that vnderstandeth
what and how great that is which he hath receiued?
who is there that by this meanes is brought to the
knowledge of that deuine goodnes? Or rather doth

Y

not

not the greatnes and plentie of this bring a loathing, and from a loathing doe we not goe directly to a forgetfullnes, and from forgetfullnesse to contempt, and then having sayled thus farre, wee are dashed against the rocke of vnthankfulnesse: what canst thou almost see here but a deformed and a disfigured shape of things? I see this man ouerloaden with his riches: that man with his followers, with his authoritie, with his power; another to abuse the gifts, the excellent gifts of his witte; another to growe insolent by reason of fauour; another to become intollerable with the fortunate course of honor; and the happie successe of his fauours; and how great any man is in these things, so much he swelleth, hopeth, dareth, and how much he wanteth of these, so much hee is dismayd, cast down, deprest, scarce any man acknowledgeth that his increase and growth is from the diuine shower, and heauenly deawe.

There is scarce any man who (in the midst of Gods benefits) doth not carefully vex himselfe, or desirously inflame himselfe, or foolishly and idly doth not blinde, and besotte himselfe? All of vs are carried which way blinde desire, or a crooked disposition, or vnthankfull minde lead vs, nay, we think it not sufficient to madd in this manner, but further we seek to warrant it with reason; & whilst we professe the study & desire of goodnes, we show how much ill & vnthankfulnes preceeded from vs: And in the boasting of vertues, it is appatent with how

many and how great vices, wee are compassed: Oh
saith euery man I would to God I had beene borne in
that golden world voyd of sins, & fruitfull in all ver-
tues: Oh, what ioy it had bin to haue liued then, when
me willingly, & of their own accord imbrace honesty.

*That faire age our fathers sawe,
When craft rememb'd, vertue did shewe:
But now,
The streame of sinne on vs their seed doth full,
We liue opprest with pride, and vice his thrall.*

Whatsoeuer was good either in things, or time, it is
vanishe long since, the dregs only and that which is
left in the bottome, are reserved for these dayes: for
it plainly appeareth:

*That all things wast and on that rocke do perish
Which time thus wearied can no longer cherish.*

We now loue our vices, no lesse then they did
then reuerence their vertues: Now it is scarce lawfull
for any man to be good: wickednesse possesseth all
roomes: honesty is euerie where dispised, and vertue
scorned, and the better any man is, the more basely &
worse he is esteemed.

This sheweth that there is nothing more cor-
rupt then the manners of these times: yet, with these
are wee compelled to liue, wee that desire all
thinges might bee well, and who (against our
willes) are drawne to allowe those things

which we dislike. From hence, from those auncient times proceede the precepts of wisdom, and profitable examples, and from these dayes, these present corrupt manners, which differ farre from them: thus are we carried as it were with a streame or a whirlwinde. Oh that I might liue in some obscure corner, and there passe my time, with such as are like my selfe, with our owne manners, and at our owne pleasure. Oh, what pietie then, how much holines and honestie would I then shew? How would I followe all other vertues? How should I wholly then bee inflamed to allowe those things which my teachers (when I was a child) did put into me, and which I had out of graue authors? Oh, happie antiquitie which knew the best things and followeth them. But in these dayes and in these places who can? If I be vnlike to other men what a sport & derision they make of it? How presently do all men say, what an incurable brayne hath he? For wisdom is nothing but to thinke as the most thicke. If I had bene borne in a free state, these things should not goe thus. I would wholly haue indeuoured my selfe to reforme publick manners; I would haue bene to all others a forcible extorter to these things, and as it becommeth a free and valiant man, being author of a free and a true opiniō, I feare not to find assistance, thus more of vs would apply our selues vnto it, & I doubt not, but we should bring to passe that the best things should preuaile: amongst free men, we would deale with
liberty

liberty and expresse our mindes with free tearmes.
 For where a free state is, there is true vertue and inge-
 nious manners. But here where men are gouerned,
 some one or other prescribe conditions to al the rest:
 The multitude follow in heapes which way any goe
 before them, without choyce, without care of any
 goodnes, Without any difference or respect of true
 or false. Thus by degrees we become such (as wee
 when it is too late) wonder at our selues to see how
 we haue lost all freedome and ingenious simplicity.
 But although these thinges might in some sort bee
 borne with, yet, what way shall I say commeth it to
 passe, that as many countries as there bee, so many
 differences there are, not only of language, and man-
 ners, but of rites, and religions? So that a man may
 dispaire that in our time there shall euer be an agree-
 ment; For what cause of euil shall I say men are set
 thus at discord? In this difference there is no man
 that taketh not himselfe to bee very godly; There
 is no man that dooth not either pity, deride, or
 hate any other that treadeth a course contrary to his
 owne; thou canst scarce goe out of dores, but thou
 shalt light vpon some one which shunneth thy
 speech and company as a thing most odious; why,
 thinkest thou? because thou followest those rites
 which hee abhorreth: For what thou accountest
 holy, that hee esteemeth prophane, and wickied,
 Euery man thinketh what hee listeth of GOD
 of his VVorshippe, of all things that belong

vnto it. Euery man wandreth what way he pleaseth; scarce any man pitting him, warning him, or staying him.

And this is the generall disposition of men at this day; what wilt thou choose? which way wilt thou goe? what part wilt thou take in these distractions? some being violent, others being drowfie, all disagreeing: My wish is religious, but silent; and of no force. For where should I cast anchor in these stormes? which way should I goe to seeke the truth? which amongst all these is but one. I desire to haue all these cloudes disperst, and directly to goe to that deuine brightnesse, but I cannot doe it. I finde al waies so beset with darknes, thornes, and infinit lets. Therefore I must lye secret and speake low, and fold vp my hands and looke vp and expect what good, time will bring with it. In the meane time, I must repressse my time which is no way fauoured; I must cherish my slouth and sluggishnes; and this is indeede to bee wise, and to know the time. Neither is it too safe to know what is to be followed as what is to bee eschewed. To conclude, in this my condition is the harder, that I vnderstand those things from which I am kept, and being borne to excellent things, yet I must follow the worst: Besides, I haue chosen that course of life, then which there could if not more honest, yet none be more vnpleasant; or more vnprofitable. It is an excellent thing to be brought vp in learning, to be instructed in arts
and

and sciences; to know the ciuill lawes; to be chosen amongst those that haue authority and iudges, to be euer cōuersant amongst the best. But none of al these can bee praised but with much exception: For if they bee compared with other courses of life, they make faire shewes; but there is little substance in them. VWho seeth not that all these courses of learning are full of care, labour, and that a kinde of life ariseth from hence, illiberally, vnpleasant, vnsecure? In one word, we are subiect to the authority of our superiours, and likewise to the speeches of the vulgar.

These will call thee a subtile and a crafty fellow, & one that what way soeuer thou goest wil deceiue; of the multitude thou are rather feared then reuerenced or loued, these will take heede of thy courses, these care not what thou thinkest. But how much thou canst and art able, so much onely they feare. I omitte that the times doe often fall out, wherein we liue dispised whilst gowns must, and doe suffer the disgrace and the wrongs of armes, what? in these tumultes we indure wronges of those, who in peace durst not come into our presence without blushing, feare, and danger, well it is much better to be one of the cōmon sort, then to suffer those indignities, that are incident to this calling, neither am I ignorant that wee seeme happy in the eyes of many as they seeme to vs. I knowe no man is content with his lotte, this is the infelicite of men.

But

But what wouldest thou doe? VVee must beare
our euill fortune and every man his owne. VVell,
all thinges considered, there is nothing more mi-
serable, then this life, which either amongst
thankfull or vnthankfull must
bee spent.

CHAP.





All the former reasons which concerne mans
estate are confuted and he is seriously ad-
monished, to be thankefull; and to
acknowledge Gods be-
nefits,

CHAP. 26.

IN the very entrance to this speech: I do
observe thee to bee a glorious boaster of
thy vertue, and withall a disdainfull e-
steemer of those things, which God hath
wisely done; which things (thou beeing more wise
and more prouident then God) desirest might bee o-
therwise. Thus it is manifest how light thou art; how
disdainfull and how proude; in one word, thou art
vnthankfull, because those thinges are not builde vp-
on any foundation of truth; which are the ground
of these words, of these words which are nothing but

Z

wicked

wicked thoughts, forged complaints against God, for thou that speakest these things, wouldst seeme exceedingly honest and religious; and thy whole labour is in this, that thou maist rather seeme then be so. Neither art thou ashamed to sorrowe that thou wert borne in this age and not long since: and in some other place. Thus the common souldier speaketh euill of the Centurion, the Centurion of the Tribune; the Tribune of the Liestenant; or the Emperour; that he is placed in this station and not in that, as though it were in thy power to determine and dispose of thy selfe, and not in his, vnder whose subiection thou art; who notwithstanding dost not consider (being hindred with an inward blindnesse) how irreligious thou art, for thou canst not desire an other country, nor repent thee of thine owne estate, and condition, but thou must first loath and hate thy owne marke then from the beginning what assurance thou hast giuen of a preposterous and alienated minde.

I would to God thou couldst learne that all vertues of a Souldier consist onely in obedience. *Obedience is to dare to do nothing but at his command at whose cost thou fightest.*

This is the lawe, the religion, the reuerence of of the oath; this is the whole ornament of military discipline; the strength, and maiesty of the whole government is built vpon this vertue; the souldier having put off obedience, is hurtfull and rebellious,

not

not to bee corrected with the rod of this Captaine,
but to be beaten with his truncheon or put to death,
as a staine and blemish to the whole army. Take
thou heede that thou be not of this infamous marke,
whilst thou complaineſt that thou wert not ſent vnto
thy ſtanding, in the firſt, or ſecond, but in the third
or fourth watch, thou wiſheſt (thou ſayeſt) that thou
haſt bene borne in that (which they call) the gol-
den World barren of vice and fruitfull in all vertues:
thus (as thou ſpeakeſt) thou wiſheſt thy ſelfe that
thou haſt neuer been borne, becauſe no monumēt
of antiquity to be credited that euer I read in, taught
what time there was ſuch an age. Poets and ſuch i-
dle heades might deuife theſe things, faire in ſhewe,
and pleaſant to bee heard, and ſeine that vertue
was taken out of ſight that men might be leſſe aſha-
med, and acquit themſelues if they followed not
theſe vertues, whereof this age is ſaide to be vnfruit-
full: But for my own part (as I do remember) (when
I haue runne ouer al that euer I either read or heard)
I cannot determin the ſpace of that excellent world,
when it was, wherein vertues reigned not mingled
with any vice, the Poet abuſeth mens credulity, when
he ſaith. *The Latine*

The World of Saturne ruled with vniuſt lawes

Unlike the antient God and times before

the ſame in other words

First was that golden age, when men without all law
 Did iust and right vnfeard and vnkept in awe,
 Punishment and feare were banisht both,
 All times were free from danger,
 Men lawlesse were, and yet were safe,
 None fear'd the Iudges anger.

This I am sure of, that in man are ingrafted the seeds
 of vertue and vice; and that vices do their grow lux-
 uriously, where vertue is vntilled; and contrariwise,
 where vertue is seriously and painfully tilled, there
 vices are kept vnder, worne away, and extinguish'd.
 Therefore all ages haue been laide open to vertue
 and vice: there was neuer any which brought not
 forth good men, neuer any that brought not forth
 badd; nay at all times and in all places there was
 euer greater plentie of euill, then of vertuous and
 good men. Let vs not idly therefore please our
 eares, with false and emptie things; for those times
 which we call the old World, that is furthest remo-
 ued from this present, euen in those times the hatred
 of brethren extended vnto death: the father was
 driven out of his kingdome by his sonne; the Gy-
 ants foolishly made warre with the gods.

To conclude, many other things were committed
 of those auncient and first men, which saine them-
 selues to be born of heauen & earth; by which it ap-
 peareth how far this opinion of the amiable simpli-
 city, and reuerend innocency of those times differeth
 from

from truth, for surely what prayles soeuer mortall things had, these were not proper to those or to these times, but to those or to these men; neither was there euer any time which in some sort euill men haue not staine, and which good men haue not honored. For the prayles & reproach of the times are from hence, that vertue or vice are more followed. For it delighteth men eminent in vertue to liue so longe, as they may be either priuately or publickly profitable. Therefore that time, wherein they chance to liue, they embrace as that station appointed to them, wherein they must stand & watch, from whence they must encounter those enemies to his mortalities; where likewise they must show their vertue, from whence they must neuer depart, untill this battaile bee fought, and the victorie obtained; therefore the world is an indifferent place, wherein all things are indifferent to him that placeth his strength in vertue, therefore thou dost ridiculously laye that fault vpon the time, which is thy owne: Awake thy selfe, whosoever thou art that outwardly art so fine and in shewe so pure; straight way thou wilt bee ashamed of thy inward deformitie; Thou shalt see how that in thy manners, there is nothing pure and sincere; how all things are counterfeits, staine, and polluted; and withall thou shalt vnderstand, what a trifier thou art, in that thou extollest with praise and admiration that ancient sinceritie, and innocency, from which thou art farre distant, and it is no marriage, seeing thou dost

not labour to attaine vnto it: thinking it only vertue enough to professe it with thy tongue, and not to expresse it in thy manners; surely seeing there are not stronger motives to vertue then examples; if wee might wish, wee ought rather to wish to bee borne late, then in these first times, and rather to looke at all those times that haue beene before vs, then to be looked at by those that come after: it is much safer to be taught by the examples of others, then to haue none whom thou mayst imitate and followe. Doubtlesse that learning is more true and certaine, which experience hath brought forth, and collected out of many examples: Dost thou admitt and allowe my counsell? Then take away all those curtains drawne before the truth, accuse not the world and the time, that is all men besides thy selfe, rather looke into the thing, and diligently examine thy own vices, and if thou obserue thy selfe thoroughly, thou wilt confesse that thou art one of the multitude better then none of the rest, and perhaps (which is like) worse then a great number, and to say plainly thou that art so great a talker of vertue, that is so great a triffle, what hast thou yet furthered the common good, whereby either the staines of this age may be wiped out, or the prayse of it increast. I see thou art but a mans shadowe, one of a quick tongue, but of a slow minde, disputing many things, but doing nothing, for the common good; vntill peraduenture thou thinkest this same vnquiet

and

and talkatiue idlenes, in which thou makest a show
of vertue, to be something. If all men thus should
thinke it sufficient to commend the times past, and
noway to further the aduancement of the present,
should not the commendation of this age lye buried
and forgotten? Thou sayst, thou art compeld to al-
low things not to bee allowed. What wicked hu-
mor doth thus possesse thee, that so foulely thou dis-
semblest? that if thou seest any thinge to bee done
otherwise then well, thou must needes bee a fur-
therer of that, a comender of it either in deed, word,
gesture, allowance consent or silence? Why doest
thou not rather make known to the commonwealth,
that there is so much honestie in thee, that no dishor-
nestie whatsoeuer can ouerblow it. It is not vertue
that which will bend so soone, and yeeld to vice, or
lurk neare it. Vertue it is either not at al, or where so-
euer it is, it is in a high place, if in those places
where thou art there be none, shewe thy own vertue.
If there be any, strive that thy owne may bee more
eminent and conspicious. To conclude, laying aside
this same sluggish and vnprofitable wisdom, which
thou professest, be a powerful exāple of true vertue;
if not to many, to a few, to thy selfe alone, least that
any man seeing thee exclaime: O! smith thou forgett
armes for one that is full of blouth: as those that were
before, gaue much light vnto thee, so hold thou out
some light of this diuinitie to those that come after.
In this, neuer regarde what the vulgar sort either
allow-

alloweth or disalloweth, but only what becommeth thy selfe; what any graue and wise man may worthily thinke of thee. Imitate not publike and vnuall manners (no nor the auncient in this respect only as they are auncient) but out of both choose that which is best, thus the age wherein thou liuest shall be to thee auncient, or if any thing can bee thought more holy and more pure, then those times that are more auncient, neuer stand vpon other men, other times, or countries.

So make accounte that wheresoeuer thou art, there vertue may make her seate. What place soeuer the Sunne looketh vpon, is fit for this Lady, Soueraine of things: who is so farre from being tyed vnto any place, that she chooseth out sometimes a hollow age eaten rocke as *Lucretius* calleth it, to bee her native Countie: shee often preferreth cottages and lowe shelters before marble walles, and sumptuous buildings, and coarse garments before purple: wheresoeuer vertue is, it is falsely termed to be a corner, it is a place eminent, and of much celebrity: and if thou hast giuen thy name to vertue, thinke not that thou canst lurke in an oblique corner. *He can neuer be hidde whom vertue becometh*: For wheresoeuer thou art, there vertue shall accompanie thee: Thou shalt giue honor and nobilitie to that place: there thou shalt liue in the eyes and the mouthes of all: neither doe I reprove thee that thou art a commender and an admirour of auncient honest sinceritie; this

this only I reprove in thee, that thou art a commender only, and not a follower, whereas by this meanes alone thou mayst gaine that commendation which thou expectest, which were a thinge much better, then thus as thou dost with auncient and glorious names, to couer thy owne stainses, and with those evils whereof thou thy selfe art guiltie, to accuse and burthen the time (a thing most inuolent); thou wilt also be known how careful & circumspect thou art, whilst thou diligently takest heede; least men should follow thee with stones like one distracted, if thou shouldest be seene diuers from others. Indeed I require nothing lesse of thee then that thou shouldest be diuers from the multitude. But I require that thou shouldest be better, not that thou shouldest be obserued in an vnsuall habite, and a singularity of life, as a contemnor of others, but that in holinesse and vnaffected manners, thou shouldest exceede others.

Thus be as an auncient example to bee looked at; by this euerie man shall esteeme what and howe great thou art, by thee euerie man shall bee stirred vp to chastitie and innocency: and as it is a proud and intollerable thing so to deale, as though thou only, or aboue the rest wouldest bee accounted wise; so there is nothing so foolish, as that vnderstanding that exceedeth not the capacite of the Common multitude; but doubtlesse, that wisdom hath all the perfections of wisdom in it,

which vnderstandeth & followeth nothing, but that which is right; whether they be allowed or disallowed of the common people. Furthermore not content to detract from those times, thou also complaineest that thou art borne in a monarchie vnder government, as though any man hath libertie, or bondage from any other but from his owne minde: be thou thy owne, not a slave of thy affections: stande firme amongst all the darkenesse of vice: moderate thy senses: take thy minde into thy owne power: then thou perfectly shalt see thy selfe in the bosome of libertie: though borne vnder the Persian seruitude. Besides, thou wouldest haue it knowne what a great man thou wouldest haue bin, if thou haddest binne borne vnder a free state. I knowe there thou wouldest haue set up a shoppe of vertue; thou wouldest haue corrected thinges that are amisse: that people should haue had thee an excellent reformer of manners: this indeede were credible: if in that place where thou art, thou hadst giuen any token of it: if thou hadest made cleane thy owne manners: if thou hadest excelled and gone before others in true and vertuous examples, not in a glorious speech, but thou (whilst thou admonishest others) differrest all to other times, and other places, as though time and place had rule over vertue.

What darest thou say, that thou wouldest prescribe

scribe manners to others, which haſt either none
thy ſelfe or vncertaine, vnordered or verie euill.
Wilt thou ſhewe the waye to others which know-
eſt it not thy ſelfe? Doeſt thou thinke that thou
art priuately diſcharged, becauſe thou promiſeſt
that thou wilt publickly doe it? But I am a-
fraide that amongſt thy familiars, with whom
thou mayſt do much, thou art ſcarſe a powerfull
example of vertue, if thy inwarde life do not
firſt aunſwere to theſe glorious admonitions: this
(beleeue mee) is the moſt compendious waye of
informing thy owne manners to honeſtie, and
reforming the vices of others.

Here, if thou beginneſt, there from ſhee ver-
tue ſhall bee deriued vnto thy neighbours; from
thence into thy whole kingedome; and ſo into
forraigne and ſtraunge Countries. Why doubtſt
thou ſuffer a thinge ſo profitable, and of euery
good man ſo much wiſhed and deſired, and look-
ed for: ſo longe to bee expected and deſired of
thee? Goe no further, expect not any ſolitarie,
or priuate place, where thou art, giue vnto
thy ſelfe, giue vnto thoſe, that are about thee,
giue vnto all, an vndoubted experimēt: what
thou wouldeſt doe if thou haideſt bene borne
there, where thou mighteſt haue had authoritie, and
bene a great man, and had much power over the
mindeſ of other, giue aſſurance, that if thou
A 22 haddeſt

haddest place, nothing els were wanting to thee, it is in thy power to performe that: and what there, would bee authoritie, here shalbe example, and yet it is true that in good examples there is much authoritie.

Do not thinke that any place giueth libertie to manners. I do not see if thou weart one of the great states in a free Commonwealth, howe thou couldest more profite thy Countrie then now, when thou art borne vnder gouernment: and in no great fauour, vnlesse peraduenture thou art of that opinion, that there is more vertue [and] generous honestie, ingrafted in those that are borne in a free state, then vnder a Prince like gouernement. If thou thinke thus, thou thinkest euill; and with all accountest nature to bee a stepmother, not a mother, nor indued with a kinde of motherly affection. For surely, *Mans* inuented all formes of Commonwealthes; being inuented, *Reason* hath disposed the, and *Time* and *Experience* hath confirmed them: there are places, where publike consent require lawes; other places, where they stande in neede of Kinges and soueraintie; and amongst these the excellencie of a King like authoritie is no lesse glorious, then amongst those the sweetnes of libertie. Doubtles, to both there is no other thinge propounded then *publike security*, which consisteth in this that euery man haue his owne, and that chiefly in all places there be a rule of equalitie.

For

For the establishing of this security there is need e-
uery way of much concord of the Citizens ; to this
cōcord, men that are willing are driuen by theiuelues,
and by a naturall instinct of goodnesse ; those that
are vnwilling are compeld by the lawes, and all the
garde and strength that lawes haue ; he whom the
condition of birth hath brought vnder a free state is
a debter to his vertue, and a subiect to that. He that
is borne vnder a King, it is fit for him vvhatsouer he
hath, he imploy it to the obedience of his Prince ;
from both ariseth the commendation of a good Ci-
tizen, to enquire which place is neerer and more
open to vertue, it is rather a matter of curiosity then
profit, and not for this purpose.

And all this I haue saide to this end that it may
appare, that in euery forme of a Common wealth,
there is some one marke of vertue, whereunto men
must runne in all courses. It is ready and easie to e-
uery man, euery where to learne manners ; If
frō thole that are vertuous, he shall be furnishe with
vertuous qualities, if from the multitude, he shall be
furnishe with manners variable, and impure. This
also dooth much trouble thee, that thou saiest that in
these dayes there is no where any certaintie of reli-
gion and holy worship, that wheresouer thou loo-
kest, men go astray and er: nor that the waies & true
paths of religion are so much opened as the entran-
ces to all impiety. From hence all

*Right and wrong are turnd, and warres do still increase
And face of sinnes in many shapes.*

For at this day there is nothing which is so fruitfull
a ground of all publique calamities as this variety of
religion. From hence are the ruines and falles of
whole kingdomes; the workers and contriuers wher-
of appeareth to bee a number of vncertaine, vncon-
stant men, which swarme in all places, desirous not
onely of nouelty, but of the ouerthrow of states; by
whose disputations and subtilty, the truth long since
hath been spoken, not perfected; For these do rend
the common wealth in sunder with an itch of con-
tention, and a desire of ouercomming without care
of learning. With much impudency and sloth in
their euill contentions of the greatest things; to whō
as it plainly appeareth their most wicked fruite is,
to speake great things of God, and yet neuer to reue-
rence him nor to thinke there is any; much lesse to
feare him as the iust punisher of such offences. From
hence it commeth that they scarce forbear from
impyery. No not in those things which ought to
be sacred and most solemne. For what else meane
these contentions, from disputations, tumults; from
tumults, warres growing from warres, one trouble
and vprore from another. I doe not onely sorrow
for these but mourne them. For I confesse in these
kinds there haue more errors sprunge vp within
this hundred yeeres then can bee cured either with
Admonition, Authority, or Reason. But what are all
these

these to thee? If thou hast learned in thy child-hood; if in thy youth thou hast beene nourished; if in thy mans estate those thinges were confirmed in thee, wherein thy safetie and the vertuous duties of thy life are contained? Can any stormes drawe thee to a contrarie course? Can the leuitie of others or their craft mingled with fury, be strong enough, to shake thy constancy and to trouble thy quiet resolution? Nay, rather the more the vulgar with the inconstant motions of their mind and euery tempest floate vp and downe, the more show thou, that thou canst not be mooued. What? Dooest thou turne about at euery noise? Is it not a shame that in a matter of such moment, strength and constancy should bee wanting in thee. Therefore stand and remaine immoueable:

*Even as the Rocke in midst of sea doth stand
Unmou'd, when waues most furiously do toss:
And like those stones fast fixed as the land,
Whil'st silly reedes are shaken to the lesse:*

Why doost thou desire to see how here euery man delighteth to doubt, to float, to perishe? either thou art rightly entred into this true way & in good time, or from thy infancy thou art of no valewe? If this bee so, doe not I loose my labour, which do thus reason with thee? If otherwise, from whence is this inconstancie of thy disposition? VVhy doost thou not goe on as thou hast begunne?

Those

Those precepts of piety that are ingrafted in thee, take heed that thou be not a forsaker of them. Do not so much as doubt. For whosoever so doubteth that he neuer compose and stay his wauering mind, he is wholly drawne in peeces, with variety of opinions. Surely such a one either erreth or is next vnto one that erreth, and thus erring, next vnto him that perisheth. Therefore with this foule inconstancy overturne not thy bringing vp, Be not willing to bee esteemed for thy idle wishe, but heape thy holy wishes with study and true Piety, which to man as the Poet speaketh is safest vertue. I say *true piety*, because I doe warne thee to take heede of the counterfeit piety of these dayes, which professeth a solitary wandring knowledge of God, without any fruite at all, whilst it seeketh to know all things lawfull and vnlawfull of God, Open or secret, and with a subtile mouth skilfully argueth those things which their euill minds deride and scorne.

Thus farre are these sorts of men from worshipping of God: sincerely & rightly ordering of humane duties, for it becommeth men neuer to be more modest, then when they haue to deale with God; to be most holy, and most reuerent in those things that belong to religion, rather to profess a humble simplicity of beleeuing, then to boast of a sharpenesse of piercing into his secrets, and knowing of his glory.

In other things I commend thy confidence, but

in

In this thy feare. Surely in the very entrāce of that sacred power & vnsearchable maiesty, there is a brightness and glory that opposeth it selfe against euery curious searcher, and blindeth both the eyes and the mind of him that pryeth with ouer much boldnesse, against this vsuall rashnesse at this day, or any such that is like vnto it, set lockes vpon thy eares; for it is not pyety, but a counterfayt impyety, which leadeth men into errors; to which that olde saying may bee truely spoken

Which way thou please runne slyly, playe the Foxe,

Exact that true and seuerer pyery of thy selfe, which is scarce found in conference and concourse of multitudes; seldome is cloathed in pretious garments, seldome walketh into the streets, scarce is seene in publique, but dwelleth in a true and honest brest and from thence is disperfed into his mouth and hands; thus beeing affected, thou shalt neuer bee drowned in the waues of false opinions; no tempest of errour shall cast thee downe;

The Sea shall smile

And mildest Heauens

shall calmly smile on thee:

From these thinges, which thou mislikest in the common wealth, thou comest to thy owne pri-

B b

uate

uare condition, and art angry with that. Canst thou indure to heare the truth? Thou art full of disdain; this maketh thee so nyce and froward: what wouldest thou say if thou wert sent into the Countrey, where thou must holde the plough and harden thy selfe with toyling labour; to get that thou mightest eate? VVhat if thou wert set to some handy-craft, where thou mightest possesse no more then thou couldest earne with thy daily labour? VVhat if professing the life of a souldier, thou shouldest haue thy body hurt and maimed that thou couldest scarce mooue it? VVhat if thou shouldest enter anie course of life harder and more vnprofitable then these? VVhat monsters of words couldest thou then vtter? with how many complaintes wouldest thou fill the skies? with how many wicked speeches, wouldest thou then prouoke that deuine goodnesse? who being so well dealt with all, yet darest complaint of God, who hath compased thee about with so many honest fauours. But as it seemes, thou art wise, thou art learned, thou art circumspect, yet for all this thou art not ashamed to sticke in those shallowes of ignorance, where every vnskillfull man perissheth.

VVhy dost thou not rather vse that learned oare to saile ouer these daungerous places? from whence if thou dost not speedely escape, thou shalt bee like vnto one that hath suffered shipwracke. If thou

thou professest thy selfe a lawyer, and an obseruer of equity, if thou wilt bee esteemed as the defence of the people and the Oracle of the Citty (ye light and inconstant man that thou art) why hast thou not first before others supported and strengthened thy selfe with holeesome Councell? If thou wouldest at least consulte with thy selfe, and from thy selfe euill affected, appeale to thy selfe without perturbation or passion, thou wouldest bee indifferent to thy Noble and excellent condition, and that which is the chiefe of all take in good part, what thou art; wipe away thole stains familiar and vsually to this kinde of men; giue faithfull counsell to him that asketh; cut off stryfes, abstaine from oppression and exhortation: If thou art a Iudge, Iudge religiovsly, and feare G O D the great Iudge, and then be assured thou shalt not bee subiect to the suspitions of the good nor to any euill speeches, vnlesse peraduenture of those that are most euill. Thus assure thy selfe thou shalt bee worshipful to the best, to the meanest, to al, in al places thou shalt be esteemed honest, amongst men, and acceptable to God.

Besides if the Cōmon-wealth be troubled, if men betake themselues to their armour, then thou complainest that ciuill professions are dispised, that learning is contemned, and also that thou lyest open and vnhidden to the outrages and disorders of all men, as though thus euery honest and innocent

disposition is not best seene in his aduersities: If thou art wicked, this is a scourge to beate thee: If thou art good think that a hand is reacht out to thee that thou bee not idle; or forgetfull, but watchfull, least thou catch a grievous and a deadly fall. Well howloeuert it is, consider whether thou haste not in the time of peace, abused thy skill and knowledge to the hurte of men and not to defende them. Dooth not worthely (then which nothing can bee more iust) thy owne example fall vpon thy owne head? These cogitations will driue out of thy minde all that vniust complaint which thou makest against God: Surely displeased with thy owne vices thou shouldest first severely blame thy selfe before thou accusest anie other.

Last of all, whosoever thou art learned or vnlearned, whether one of the states or a common person, whether thou art a leader, or an ordinary souldier, whether thou art rich or poore, of what sort soever thou art (for it were infinit to reckon vp all) therefore I speake vnto all that euery man may take it spoken to himselfe. Thou that hast passed the flower of thy age; thou art he with whō my speech is at this time; if thou vnest not thy strength & health to some good purpose; if before the powers of thy body and mind faile thee, thou vse them not for the true defenses of thy soule; and doe not enrich thy selfe with true riches, thou in the olde age wilt in vaine desire
thole

those things wherein thou oughtest to be instructed. Now it were fitte to arme thy selfe with wisdom, and true valour: sad and loathsome olde age overtaketh men that are inconsiderat and vnprepard: In time to come thou wilt bee able to do nothing but trifles, the mind will wax olde in a decayed bodie. Thou shalt be vnfitte for any thing; and death at last vnawares shall overtake thee, subject to many scoffes and dangers, and in vaine looking about for helpe, which (whē thou mightest) thou didst not provide vnto thy selfe. Therefore free thy selfe from these delays, least thy sluggishnes bring thee into those daungers, from whence thou canst not deliuer thy selfe, without much perill. Repentance at the last yeares is late. Wee looke for meanes of life then late, when wee are in the last part of it; when our burdens are to be packt vp: nay, to bee layd aside. O lamentable condition of that man, who by his inconsideratnes is brought to that, which is the beginning of eternall miserie; and hee that cometh to that, I confesse his life so much the more hatefull in that it is ended most vnfortunatly. Thou whosoever thou art ascribe thy owne euill to thy selfe, who abusest thy owne good; thy life unknowing is lent vnto thee, not short but longe, and heaped with many, and great benefits of God; and thou man the vngratfullest of all men, spendest the same in error, and vanitie; thou consumest all thy time in frozen and foolish trifles. Dost thou suffer this so great a benefite

nefitte by thy negligence to passe from thee without profit, and art not ashamed to vpbraide God with the smalenes of the benefit, belecue me, thou wholly dependest vpon a small threed: thou mayst immediately be cast headlong down into a perpetuall cup of misery: if thou dost not speedily lay hand vpon those meanes with which being supported, thou mayst attaine to that felicitie, to which thou wast created, thou oughtest to contemne all other things, and to desire this one thing and not to desire it as one

Ill, slouthfull, and weake, but
as one strong diligent, & intent to
to his greatest hap-
pinesse.

(*) (*)


CHAP.





Amongst vnthankesfull persons I account the
old man, whom neither the plentie nor the
greatnes of Gods benefites, nor any wise-
dome gathered out of long experi-
ence can reclayme from this
vnthankesfulnes.

CHAP. 26.

 Considering the dispositions of men &
vewing the corruptnes of them (as it
lyeth open) as also their cunning (as they
foolishly thinke) wherewith all mortali-
tie seeketh to couer it selfe, that it may not as it is so
appeare vnto God; to conclude, thinking with my
selfe, howe many wayes euerie man delighteth to
wronge that sacred power, which hee shoulde
reuerence; maddinge against his wisdom
and.

and rising with complaints against that great power: I begin to tremble, I say a horror possesseth mee, when I take but a vewe of the sharpe of this fowle & deformed vice; I see nothing but a heape of vnthankfull persons, amongst whome most notable is hee whom it least becommeth.

The oldeman; I am moued at none more then at him, who ought to haue learned by that great benefit of longe age, howe hee only more then all other men of all ages, is not only loaden with benefits, but almost oppress'd, whome the satiety of liuing ought to haue clesed from this drosse: whome the longe vse of the goodnes of God should haue brought to that æquitie of mind which is requisit for one, that is readie to leaue the earth; yet, I see him more froward and more afflicted with this humor of discontent, then any other. Thus the shaken age out-goeth the most part of mortall men, and hauing liued a long time, is not for all this, more skilfull in this iournie; nay, oftentimes is more vnprepared and more stained. In one worde, these seeme to haue gathered vp out of euerie corner, and carefully to haue heaped together the seuerall vices of all ages, and to haue layd open the blemishes and spottes that are in all; and from all this to haue framed this monster, whose name is an vnthankfull minde. For hee doth not complaine of this, or that euill, as those whom I haue reckoned before, but of all things, as altogether. There is none so weak, none

so shamelesly furnished to this offence, none thinketh more impurely, none speaketh euill of GOD more proudly, none turneth his head more boldly against his maker; there is no where, where all the faces of this monster are discouered better, then here; which are as many as the corruptions that lye hidde in man, wherewith he with long liuing is most infected; which way soeuer this old man layth open himselfe, he is weake, forgetfull, arrogant, vnthankful; he sinneth not as others of ignorance, of folly, of infirmitie; inwardly and outwardly he sinneth: hee is wholly wicked, in word, in deede, in thought; to conclude, what can you thinke of him, who for this dare not complaine that he is, and that his life is giuen vnto him. For what (sayth he) is my life giuen vnto this end that in my life there may be nothing which is worthe to be called a life? For what should I remember the miseries which I had fro my infancy, where of I cannot tell whether the sence or the memorie be more greuous vnto mee, had I euer in all my life any honnie, but it was mixed with much gall? Had I euer any ioy that was not ended with sorrow? Any happinesse that was not recounted with some euill successe? Any hope whereto dispaire was not a companion? in one word, what is all that I haue spoken, that I haue done; that I haue hoped, that I haue gotten, but the matter of sorrow, and repentance? To conclude, what shall I say, that I either am or haue beene, but a perpetuall motion? But a liuing creature,

ture, layd open to euerie violence? My life was spent
in learning of these miseries, & living long with these,
I am hardened.

*In what great darke and danger haue I liu'd
Where day and night did witness how I preend.*

Oh how truely is it spoken, by a man of much
experience, whose minde in the constancy of death
confirmed many & verie wise precepts, none would
accept of life if it were not giuen them without their
knowledge: what is our Infancie but a dullnes & an
vncertaine state, betwixt life and death? more truely
the likenes of death or rather indeede a death begun
and a funeral mixed to our swadling cloathes? What
is our childish estate but the shewe and the be-
ginning of miserie, or rather a glasse wherein a man
may see all the miseries which are to come? What
our youth but a vading flower, growing to a better
fruite? For then wee are greene that wee may now
wyther, then we flowrish that we may now wax old:
what is our lusty years soething ripe as the our youth,
but a foolish scarcenes trouble-some to others and
hurtfull to it selfe? What is our mans estate, but an
authorised imperious madnes, Whilst it is reasons
ape? What is this last age, the wearines whereof I
feele to bee layd vpon mee, but an ouerflowing
of all paines, greefes, miseries? What is this which
we call to liue, but a fearefull and a continuall ex-
pectation

pectation of death? yet I know these things are hardly perswaded to yong men: I knowe that the mindes of most are holden in this common error, and bound as it were fast with this chaine (which is a loue of life) as of that good which containeth all good things in it.

Surely let the childe see before him the merrie & pleasant flower of youth; youth the strong, couragious and manly age: this also let it haue some cōfort left in the approaching old age: but then to this last what else is propounded but death? For man that is full of yeares as I am, what is hee but as they say a picture painted on the wall, or the name of a shadowe of that he was? And to conclude, the pray of death? VVhat further can hee doe or hope whose soule is euer going out of his mouth? VVhat am I fitte for, who am vnmeete for the lightest cares? whose strength of bodie is weaker? The age of abilitie and power past? Sences dull, and the liuelines of the minde weakened? In one worde, to whome all things with my bodie are withered?

Life then deserueth that name, when it bringeth to a man some ioye or pleasure: but if it bring nothing with it which is not vnswete, vnpleasant, bitter, if it be euer driuen against the rockes of all euill, away with this name of life, which is more glorious then true; I know not others, but for my selfe, I am sure, of all that euer I did heare, or see, there is

nothing likes me; and as hope doth more and more
freese in me, so all pleasure decayeth; whereof this
worne and decayed bodie of mine is vncapable. I
haue no heape in my kindred, for all slippe from me
by little and little, and shunne my companie, as an
odious and troublesome old man; vnles peraduen-
ture deceitfully they hange vpon me to be made the
richer by my death: My frendes haue little hope
in mee, to whome I seeme not a man but a
ghost.

*Like as the Iuie killeth the folded tree,
So with the imbrace of yeares death killeth me.
Like to the earth from whence I came
Of man I hold only the name:*

My familiaritie is pleasant to none; I walke as
the hate of the earth; neither am I more almost esteem-
ed of any then a thing worne and of no value, as
many men, and many thinges doe not please mee,
no more doe I please any. I am forbidden to
meddle with any thing vnder a colour of honour;
to which they giue the name rest, and ceaseinge
from labour, that with the mildnes of the name, they
may mittigate the asperity of the thing, and the grief
that I take from it. In my sayings there is no autho-
rity, for all men say I am now past, and brought to
a doting age; the very memory of my life past wher-
in there was some pleasure, daily weareth away.

Of

Of one thing I haue more vnderstanding then euer I had, namely, of this miserable estate to which I am appointed, and as it were reserved to this age, and to this experience rising out of these miseries I am beholding for this one thing, that it hath opened my eyes and laide before mee the whole army of those euilles wherewith this mortalitie is guarded, and can neither finde remedy nor meanes to escape them. Neither can learning (that dooing inuention as they call it) mitigate this griefe; I haue no comfort out of my learning how great soeuer it is; nay the more plentifull that is, the more plainly doe I see rather what is not true then what is; yea, it rather brings mee into the large sadde fieldes of error, and there placeth me, from whence I may see with a large prospect, ignorance that is of kindred to our mortalitie; So farre am I from being brought to any delightes or pleasures of knowledge.

Last of all, there remaineth pyety, whereof I was euer a diligent worshipper, wherein I finde no refuge. If for all this being worne with yeares, my last houre must come, and that farall necessity whereunto against my will I must obey and follow, not whether it leades mee, but whether it draweth mee. For in that my heape of miseries giueth mee a minde to speake freely.

From hence am I grievously tormented in that I see my selfe brought vnto that peryod of life,

which is set so fast that it cannot bee remooued. There is nothing that dooth more trouble my rest and quiet then the often thinking of the approach of death; which the more I labour to cast from me, the more and more violently it commeth to my minde, and this is that same inward and perpetuall corrasie:

*This diminishes my life which no delite can cure,
And leaues no ioy that pleasant is or pure.*

If I beginne to talke with any; If I doe any thing; If I walke; If I rise from sleepe; continually I am encountred with the euer present memory of my neare aproaching death, I haue euer (as that Romane king) those two gods present with mee (dread and palenesse).

Now at the last, the conscience of my former life, which is full of trouble, and a torment to me, gathereth his forces and doth shew it selfe. Sometimes a little hope doth comfort mee, sometimes dispaire dooth trouble and afflict me. Now I float as it were betwixt life and eternall death: whether is nearet I cannot easily tell: so am I an old and decayed man deluded by both. Farewell all, let it goe, And that humane wisedome, which is meere madnes let it blinde and deceiue it selfe, let it be insolent in this same show of perswasion, for which it would be esteemed; let it delude it selfe in thinges accurately
thought

thought, eloquently spoken, in these famous monuments erected for posterity; I confesse there is none of all these that I delight in, this same space that I haue runne of so many yeares, so many experiments, so many precepts of things, so many welltaught learnings, they all renew the same scarre of my miseries that are not yet well cured. Whatsoever the state is, wherein I am, it is nothing els but a fit place to renew my euils. Amongst which I reckon this, that my minde doth wauer: I know nothing but that I am ignorant of all things: Shall I speake it or holde my peace. To a trauellet it is a hope, and an ease to thinke of the place wherevnto he goeth, I, why I am, or what shall become of mee, whether I shall goe, what is all this wherein I am, but as a droppe in the sea, or a stone vpon the shore, or a sparke in the fire? I am more vncertaine then ever I was, happy is he that thinketh hee knoweth this. Doubtlesse, at least hee inioyeth a sweete error, and perisheth pleasingly. Let humane curiositie arrogate vnto himselfe, applaude himselfe, giue vnto himselfe this honour, that hee may thinke that hee hath obtained the knowledge of that which is denied to mortality. I doe not thinke that it is true, that hee that knoweth not those things, which are before his eyes, can reach to the knowledge of those things which are hidden in the bottomelasse greatnesse of time, and the Maiesty of nature.



*The olde man is blamed for his complaint, and
admonisht to acknowledge Gods bene-
fits, euen in that respect, that
he is olde and neare vn-
to his graue.*

CHAP 27



Subtleſſe it is true, that that diſeaſe is
hardly cured, which imitateth health;
for becauſe it is manifold, it can ſcarce
beknown; becauſe it is firmly rooted,
it cannot be pulled out; becauſe it is re-
bellious, it can neither bee ruled nor put to ſilence.
Of this kinde (O olde man) I feare me is thy diſeaſe;
who in ſo long a life haſt learned nothing but to play
the fool; For there is nothing more fooliſh then
he, who will be wiſe about that he is commanded;
Dd and

and more then is fit for one who is about to dye. But thou if thou louest thy selfe, suffer a few things, truly and simply, to be spoken to thee; It belongeth chiefly vnto thee, that thou be awaked with this my admonition; howsoeuer it is; Let mee leade thee a long not through all the benefits of God (which thou corruptly doost interpret, for that were infinit) but through the best and cheefest. For amongst all the complaints of men whereby they show how they are infected, with this fault of vnthankfulness towards God; there is none more delicate, there is none worse, and more wicked, then that which is in thy minde, and in thy mouth. This most is from hence, that thou darest object thy reason; reason, that is the bounds betwixt God and man, the onely light of the minde increased and confirmed with vse of things, that thou darest (I say) oppole and object this reason against that deuine prouidence; and after the manner of the Gyants with a bolde attempt, prouoke thy Creator to a single combat.

Neither dost thou consider that thou art most friendly; and as it were by the hand, ledde euen to that place where is the end of this Iourney (thorny and full of brambles) which wee call life; wherein this chiefly repinest that it is giuen vnto thee. To witte, the first in order, and in his bounds containing the rest of Gods benefits. Heere thou art to consider first of all how thou art not agreeable to thy

thy selfe, who complainest that thy life is giuen thee, the which impatiently thou lamentest to bee taken from thee. Thou repinest that thou liuest, that thou must dye, that thou art borne, to waxe olde; that thou art in this state, that either perpetually (as thou saist) thou must not bee at all, or perpetually be miserable.

From hence thou gatherest, that it had beene better for thee, not to haue been at all, - then in that thou art, to knowe so much that thou maist vnderstand how much vnhappinesse it is, not to bee after thou hast beene. Thou fearest death not as the last destruction, calamity and extinguishing, but peradventure as the beginning of some new, and vknown euill; To conclude, so frowardly, so staggeringly, so prophanely, thou thinkest of the greatest thing of all, that is of thy owne saluation, that when thou art dead to thinke of thy selfe thou thinkest it belongeth not to thee. Oh how am I afraide least,

*Thy wits do baulk, thy tongue, thy soule, thy minde,
And all these fayle, and at one time be blinde*

First let me deale with thee by way of excursion & skirmishing, then nearer, not a far off with the speare, but at hand with the sword; last of all more strongly and with all my force: Thou saist thou wouldest not haue had life giuen vnto thee.

Now in the beginning, and in one word thou

D d 2

shevest

showest that thou knowest not what life is. For if thou didst know it, doubtlesse thou wouldest more considerately esteeme the greatnesse of this benefite. Dooest thou (who art so olde) not vnderstand that life is the being of man, and the seat of all those benefites which that deuine goodnesse bestoweth vppon mankind? Surely, there is the same reason of euery thing that is dead, as of that which is not; for that onely is saide to bee which liueth in that manner as the giuer of life hath prescribed vnto it; therefore by the helpe of this only benefite, thou art all that thou art: And when God hath given thee life, he hath giuen thee wholly as a gifte vnto thy selfe. Thou art his debtor for thy whole selfe, which gifte by so much is greater, and more to bee esteemed, in that hee gaue it, who was not bound vnto thee, which then were not at all. Surely it is such a benefite as thou wouldest wish it to bee; that is (if it be not long of thy selfe) very great. From so great a giuer there can come nothing but what is great; especially this, which being take away, all the other gifts of God are not only voide and frustrate, but none at all. For that thou art, it is the first of all those steps, whereby thou ascendest into the likenesse of him who truly is. For surely there is nothing so vnlike vnto God, as not to be at all. But doubtlesse it is a small thing for thee to be (for that is common to thee with the rest of the creatures) vnlesse thou bee that which thou oughtest to be.

Therefore

Therefore this thy being, thy life (I say) which God hath given thee, must be employed vpon some thing, especially vpon that without which it deserves not to be called by the name of life. If thou hast, vpon what? Vpon that one thing which may giue assurance; that thou art obedient, and thankefull to him that gaue it: and that thou who art taken out of that immortall and deuine essence, and desirest to returne thither, from whence at the first thou hadst thy being. This is of two kinds either placed in Contemplation or in Action: Contemplation respecteth God, to whom we must goe: Action respecteth men, amongst whom we must stand and with whom we goe thither, that is called pietie; this dutie both conspire in one, and the selfe same end is propounded to both; and both are so acceptable to God that he wil not be approacht vnto by any other way. Whatsoever belongeth not to this (that is all other otiafions where with men are drawne aside) are nothing else but lettes and delays. If thou hast bestowed the time which is past which thou thy selfe confessest to haue bene longe vpon both, or at least vpon one of these, now thou suruiuest thy glorie; now thou beginnest to ioy in that felicitie whereunto thou hast trauailede with so great and so earnest studies: If to neither, thy age ought to make thee ashamed, that in all that time thou hast attained to nothinge, whereby thou mayst be much married, and more firmly grounded.

For how dost thou show that thou art olde; by thy yeares and white haire? But these are common to thee with euerie unhappie and unwise man. There is nothing swifter nor more violent, then the course of time. One yeare goeth before another; & ages speedely do passe away. There is nothing sooner heaped together, then the number of dayes, monthes, and yeares.

Therefore there must be something more, whereby thou mayst proue thy selfe to be olde, and from thence obtaine the authoritie and reuerence, which is due to olde age.

Surely as the first age of man is, such commonly is the middest, and such is the last. The middle age doth agree with the first; and the last with the middle.

For commonly what foundation of olde age is layd in our childehoode, and our youth, such is euery mans old age, that is buik vpon it. For to be olde, is not to liue without sence, and to growe sluggish with Idlenes, but in liuing to bee formed to that likeness of God, which I mentioned before. From hence is gained the honor, authoritie, and Maiestie of a man: These and no other are the cheefe ornaments of old age.

There is nothing left vnto an olde man which he may call his owne, but only this one thing, which he obtaineth by spending of his life purely, religiously, faithfully.

These

These are the richest, and the best frutes which a man last tasteth, in the last part of his life well spent. Contrariwise an olde age, credulous, foolish, forgetfull, dissolute, to conclude, sad, dispised, and vexed, must needs follow a former age spent carelesly, riotously, lasciuiously, intemperatly, couetously, and wickedly. The surely it is not so much a name of age, as a shewe of extreame leuie, doating, madnesse, and the beginning, and east of eternall miserie: who sooner desireth to haue this age furnished with his owne vertues, and to bee eminent in these ornaments, doth so frame his life, that he forgeth God, and reuerenceth man, doth so compose himselfe wholly, that when he must growe olde, or die, men may accuse fewe things in his life, and he can excuse himselfe.

If thou hast liued thus, though thy body goe away with thy years, yet thy manners shall not waxe old. Surely the minde shall be young with his vertues, and flourish with true praise. Thus but not believ
The memorie of time shall not vnpleasant bee,
Nor dayes well spent shall euer trouble thee.

Thy age shall be sweete vnto thee, pleasant, honorable, and contemptible to none, that truly esteemeth of this benefit, but verie full of worship; but this thou takest greediously, that vnder shewe of honour (as thou sayest) thou art exempted from businesse; that, which when thou sayst, thou understandest
not,

nor, that this whereof thou complainest, is a benefite of that age not to be contemned. What can be more wisht for of an old man, then after so many stormes and tempests of this life, to enter into a safe haven of rest? to giue himselfe to quietnesse and to decke and furnish himselfe to prepare himselfe to that journey, which all men must vnderake, so it is, to bee wisht that it may bee fortunate and happy to him to see others floating, and himselfe almost at the shore of safetie? There to thinke of nothing which is not acceptable and pleasant: to waxe olde in bodie and stronge in wisdom: yet to flourish in a sounde Iudgement and to be eminent in all vertues: to abstaine from humane affaires, and to be busied in deuine: to be amongst men, more then a man, or rather to haue put of man, and to haue put on God: these are the proper and particular happinesse of an age quiet, calme, wise, & purified; which as it ought to be slowe to take paines in his owne affaires: So this wisdom and authoritie are necessarie for the publike good, for although all things quiet and without trouble, are seemely and conuenient for that age, yet in the minde of old men, there resteth a care of the publike Maiesty.

Therefore none lesse are exempted from the gouernment of the common-wealth: nay, that age doth challenge as proper and peculiar unto it selfe this care of gouerning of others: For verie often those times do happen, wherein olde men with their
wisdom

wisedome, and vertue haue established and strengthened the common wealth, which the rashnesse of young men hath almost overthrowne. For they thinke (indeede truly) that it doth no lesse belong vnto them to take care what manner of Commonwealth they haue receiued from their aunccestors, then what they haue left vnto their posterities; the names and memorie of some olde men shall bee receiued of all posteritie as a thing (I know not how) verie honorable, sacred, and deuine. *Camellus* was foure score yeare olde, when hee triumphed ouer the *Gaulles*, and *Quintus Fabius* was not much lesse, when with his patience he weakened *Hanniball*. Neither was the minde of *Massinissa* feeble when he was eightie and eight yeares old, at what time befriending the Romans he gaue an overthrow in a prosperous battaile to the men of Carthage; *Plato* (that same pillar of wisdom) in writing attained to the age of fourescore & one yeares; *Isocrates* wanted not scholars, no not whē he had liued ninety & eight yeares; but what doe I goe about the examples of such olde men (as are of number some and vertuous yeares) are infinit. Whose wites haue beene fresh, their mindes sound, the strength of their senses perfect, their bodies able, themselves honorable, and their graye hayres crowned with many ornamentes; and their whole bodies carrying a reuerence shewe to increase a dignitie and a maiestie in them. To conclude, such as from whome age hath taken nothing but euill

Ee

desires;

desires, delights of sinning and the abuse of strength and sence; whose giftes of their minde grow and increase; whome vertue hath set for all ages to looke at, as certaine lightes, or rather sacred powers.

Therefore, when the lawes gave rest to those, which were about threescore yeares olde, they exempted them from those actions, which could not bee sustayned, but with bodily strength: they imposed vpon them, that care which is performed only with the strength of wisdom, for which scarce any other man is sufficient, but only hee who hath his immortalitie almost in his sight. For whatsoever a man (so pure, so refine) speaketh or doth, he is conuersant in it, as one already receiued into those heauenly seates, the power of iudgement is not only not dulled in him, but rather sharpened: hee ceaseth with his hand, not with his counsell; hee seldome doth any thing, but euer commandeth. Therefore hee erreth, and greatly erreth, whosoever thinketh that olde age is a name of a faine, sluggish, broken, slouthfull, and a weakened age, and so that it is exempted from all publike offices, when indeed it is rather most busie of all: most generous, most glorious: as a most excellent worker of those things, which longe, which publikely, and to all, and which shall professe an infinit posteritie. For thou shalt see that the rest of olde men not onely prescribes what ought to be the businesses of others: but also
goeth

Goeth before others, both in quicknesse of minde,
And in valiant and famous acts, as the Captaines and
leaders of publike Counsell. These properly are the
exercises of that happie maturitie: in these courses,
cheefe valiant and couragious olde men excell: in
these they delight, and in these the mind that is nea-
rest vnto his eternitie, doth runne swifly: goe to
then, at length giue this thanks vnto God, who
hath brought thee to this olde age, giue this thanks
to olde age it selfe: which hath freedde thee from
those euill affections; taken thee out of that sinke of
pleasures: deliuered thee fro so many toyes, so vaine
and importunate: and hath reserved thee to his owne
glorie, that thou mayst will and do that only, which
only thou oughtest to wil, which to be able to doe is
honorable, and to performe, admirable: other ages
must goe through many difficulties: watch amidst
things hurtfull, and with a doubtfull hazard stande
amongst things that are most slipperie: this age on-
ly hath power ouer it selfe: that which either ages
desire to obaine, this hath gotten: to this age
only are almost all the wishes of humanitie appli-
ed, this alone standeth in the highest place: and
doest thou sorrow that so profitably and so com-
mendably thou art growne olde, that is that thou
hast acted thy age as a commedy.

Doest thou take it euill that thou drawest
neare to that which is the last part of thy life?

Ecc

so

So may the traveller be sorrie that hee is come to his journeyes ende, and the husbandman to see his fields cloathed with ripe Corne, and his trees loaden with ripe fruite: or lastly his vintage to be in Autum, or the time for Oliues in Winter. I demaund what can be more agreeable to nature, then that that which only spronge vp should whither: that is, that it should rest in his due season, when it can bee no longer. Though death in other ages of mans life may seeme vntimely and vnripe, yet in olde age it is seasonable.

Neither is it violence, but an ende and a perfection, and finishing of our age: therefore to moderate olde men, there is a satietie of this mortalitie (which wee call life) no lesse ingrafted in them then in yong men a desire to liue; and this satietie doth draw with it a contempt of all those things, which belonge not to the true, and sound felicitie of man; what a man would that happie people the *Hyperboreans* haue accounted thee to be, where the old men hauing a full satietie of life after they had feasted and banquetted with their friends cast themselves from the toppe of a rocke and so ended their dayes. Thou that hast liued so longe, hast thou not founde by good experience, that death is not to bee reckoned amongst those things that are fearefull, but rather amongst those things that are to bee contemned? yea to bee desired; For what is it to dye? Surely, nothing else but to be releast out of this earthly building. O happye

pie thou (not as those whom the world admireth for riches and honor) but as one whome the wisest account fortunate; as now having attained to the verie enterance of thy happines. Oh laie aside at length these most foolish complaints and compose thy selfe wholly to esteeme thy felicitie; admire the goodnes of God, who hath brought thee to him selfe by these steppes.

CHAP





*I proceede to show vnto the old man all those
seuerall benefits which God hath
heaped vpon
him.*

CHAP 27



Now at the length, after thou hast
well looked about thee, and
seene all those things, where-
with mans life is compased, doth
it come into thy minde a little
more neerely & carefully to sur-
uay thy selfe? VWholly from
those things which are about thee to enter into thy
selfe? to bee affected and amazed? and then to fall
low vpon thy knees; to humble thy looks, to bee
holden

holden carefully with a diligent meditation, to bee erected in thy minde, wholly to rise vp in a reuerence and worship of that bounty, from which thou hast receiued so many, so great, so excellent things, of all which thou art a very famous example. This properly is piety; whereof lately thou madest thy selfe a professour; which if it were true and sincere, it might well bee assaulted, but it could not bee overthrowne; nor cast downe: by that thou shouldest bee taught that thou art hee whom God (though he be inuisible) hath vouchsafed part of himselfe; neither doe I thinke that hee erreth, which calleth thee halfe a God; in that thou art made according to his similitude, and admitted into the fellowship of his diuinity. For as thy beginning and originall is from Heaven, so immortality is common to thee with thy Creator. A mind truly sincere and vertuous hopeth this; this is the confidence of those great and holy wishes; whereof beeing made partakers, we are ingrafted into the family of God and are of his house. Man hauing obtained this one thing, in this excelleth all other creatures, and destitute of this, hee is beneath them all. If it be an errour and a madnesse (as some thinke) it is to those who are wicked, and desperate, who from hence are to goe into eternall darkenesse. But to those that are honest, and religious, this immortality is their sure hope, this the comfort of their hope, this their onely defence. Therefore they wishe nothing more then

then that being taken speedely out of these troubles, out of the multitude, out of this filth, and darke-
nesse, and being brought into those holy dwellings,
they may enjoy that euclasting life, purely cleare,
and perfectly bright, to which is added a sound rest
and perpetuall security.

To conclude: that inaccessible, and vnexpugna-
ble possession of that great good, with whole vnsha-
ken confidence, they haue assuredly defended their
hearts in this life. The man that constantly endea-
uoureth to this, layeth vnder his feet all those things
which either doe not leade hither, or leade from
hence. All this sinke of other things, hee leaueth to
those that are euill, and to wits that are in admirati-
on with base and vile things; Of this kinde, are ri-
ches, pleasures (the nourishments of ambition)
that which dazeleth euery ignorant eye, inlargeth
their desires and woundeth the mind. He knoweth
that with these things he is neither beautified nor in-
riched, but holden backe and hindred. He knoweth
that with these things he is deluded and led into er-
rour, and deceit. He knoweth that of these things,
there is not onely a satiety but a hatred, at the onely
mention of this perpetuall felicity, he is awaked;
this onely holdeth him, hath him, possesseth him;
he delighteth to heare, and speake of this; this hee
often repeateth, and imprinteth in himselfe; all
this time he bestoweth in the meditation of this; in
this he doth diligently labour, heere he doth more
satisfie

satisfie himselfe: and what maruaile? For where els almost doth he meet with himselfe, heere he seeth his beginnings, and his nobility; from hence he esteemeth himselfe; and would haue himselfe esteemed; from hence he beginneth to bee nourished with an etheriall and diuine breath, now he beginneth to liue with his glory, which is to come, and last of all (as now already receiued into those hye and Heauenly places) hee returneth in his height and perfection, and becommeth an admirer and worshipper of his owne diuinity.

I beseech thee, why doost thou oppose against this wholesome and sauing light those mournefull and sadde darkenesses of impyety? VVhy doost thou with this dangerous accutenesse of witte foolishly faine vnto thy selfe, and falsely obiect those thinges which are not, rather then truly and faithfully bee instructed in those thinges that are? VVhy doost thou not free thy selfe out of this torment? VVhy doe these thinges swimme in thy minde, which if they bee not certaine, sound, and stable, thou shalt bee drowned in the waues of Impyety? VVhat doost thou more trouble, reare, and consume thy selfe (wretch that thou art)? VVilt thou neuer pull vppe couragiously these too much growne branches of Impyety? VVhy doost thou delay to plucke out these doubts out of thy minde? Doost thou delight to bee miserable and so sollicit

and trouble thy olde age with this blinde and vnfortunate vnderstandinge why hadst thou rather dangerously floate then stayer in a sure place or sayle with wind and oares ouer those rockes? And strue for that quiet and calme harbour, where thou thy self wholly maist bee quiet? where thou maist without all doubt bee receiued into that wished haven? Out of which whosoever is long, must needes suffer shipwracke.

Think that thy life was given thee for this meditation; without this (as thou sayest it is not life but death; whosoever is not assured of the goodnesse of GOD toward him, of his Immortality, of eternall and euerlasting felicitie, hee is past remedy. If thou art such a one, why do I talke to thee? Why doe I strue with a shadowe? VVhy doost thou lend thy eares to those thinges, whose minde is a derider and contemner of them? But consider how frendly I will deale with thee; how I haue not cast away all care of thy saluation; how much I doe giue vnto thee; whatsoeuer I haue before spoken of the dignity of Man I knowe that thou dost belecue it.

VVhatsoeuer thou hast heard concerning that; whatsoeuer more subtilly, more learnedly, more largely, may bee spoken of it, deliuered by the auncient or late VVriters, what more truely and more fruitfully Christian
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pyety doth promise, all that (howsoever thou seekest to auoid it) I will haue thee grant it as most certaine and most knowne.

With these and such like, I knowe thou hast fully beene instructed. These once thou hast let sinke into thy brest; of these thinges once thou hast thought religiously; namely when thy minde was purer and not stained with so much frowardnesse. In one worde, I know thou knowest these thinges: How shall I conuince thee? Namely, if I drawe thee into the lawes; thou sayest before what Iudge? Before that which thou little esteeming, how truly and sharply it confuteth all error, and euery false and truthlesse speaker) calledst the *Conscience*.

Thither doe I call thee; that thou maist not goe farre from thy selfe. Dooth not thy conscience tell thee that the presages & diuinations, not of a drunklicke minde, but of a certaine inward instinct, that those predictions the inward and proper motions of the soule shew the deuinity and immortality of it? I say inwarde and proper; because the chiefest beginning of these motions is in it selfe alone.

And therefore all things must first perish before it forsake it selfe, and cease to mooue, it selfe being immortall: that which is immortall and being of a simple & vncompounded substance cannot be

deuided; and if it bee not deuied, it cannot dye;
For deuision is the death of that which is deu-
ied. Death is nothing else, but the deuision
and dissolution of one particular into two
or many; not content with these, thy conscience
proceedeth and sayth, *That the minde is the glasse
of the soule, the seate of counsell, and the government
of life.*

From hence proceede those gifts of the soule,
which testify the deuinity of it, as quicknesse,
prouidence, prudence, and wisdom. Vpon
these attend memory, vnderstanding, knowledge,
and all the rest of the faculties, that are kinne to
these, and vnseparable from them. To these wee
may ad those, which from the euerlastingnesse of
it are deriued into the affections; from the affec-
tions to the senses; In this ranke first is the swift-
nesse of our thoughts; Next our desires, ioyes,
hopes, feares. From hence it certainly appeareth
that the better part of man, is the reasonable soule,
& the praises that man hath, belong not to the bo-
dy, but to the soule. Likewise that *disprais* and *Infam-
y* are not so much of the body as of the soule cor-
rupted, & a runnaway frō his own nobility to those
cents of euill affections.

It is most absurde to thinke that the soule which
euer thinketh of his posteritie, and is so carefull of
the long continuance of the memory of it selfe
should dye together with the body. Nay, rather it
is

is carefull what, and how great it may be, in the opinions of men after it is freed from the body; as though then it thought it had gotten life, when the bodie had liued many yeares: For there is nothing can be spoken so falsely, so foolishly, so lyingly, and so impudently; as that the body (a thing earthly) should give life to the soule, a thing heavenly and deuine, which of necessitie must be graunted: if the soule liueth no longer then whilst it is in this vessell of flesh; and that it dieth as soone as it is let loose from thence.

But there is nothing which either is or can bee more certaine, then the mortalitie of the bodie, because it consisteth of those things which haue their motion from others, namely things vncertaine, fading, inconstant, waxing olde, withering, perishing, and ready to perish, whereupon it is that there is nothing in the bodie, which can be said to bee liuely. For to liue is to be moued of it selfe: but the body hath his motions, and agitations from the soule: wherefore this, whether it be called mortalitie, or finishing of life, or extinguishing, seeing it is a sending out, and a freeing of the soule, it is not only not euill, but the beginning of good, and of that good which alone is the cheefe, and perfect, and eternall good.

By which things, that may bee gathered which I sayd before, that the dissolution of the bodie which we call death, is not only not to be feared, but (I had

almost sayd) to be desired; doubles meere, constantly, readily to be desired. For this is that by which alone there is a passage made for the soules of good men, to a true life, his owne, and euermlasting: the same ende of life expecteth all; but the effect that followeth of it, is distinguished: For some dye once, that they may dye eternally; others, that they may liue for ever.

Now, thou seest how foolishly this bodily mortalitie is either feared, or lamented: after which immediatly followeth that heavenly immortalitie. These and farre greater then these; and by many degrees much stronger, which neither the weakenes of my minde, nor the slendernesse of my witte can attaine, nor my selfe expresse, which it is fitt should be taken out of the writings of holy men, thou canst not deny but they are confirmed by thy owne conscience; the sence whereof (although thy body bee olde) cannot bee dulled. For the conscience is the beame of Gods eye, sent to every man into the secret of his breast, and the most inwards part of his heart; this euery man beareth about him; this no man can auoyde, no more then himselfe: It is fixed in his heart rootes; It is giuen vnto man, as an arbitrator, and overlooker. It can neuer be shund, neuer extinguished, neuer deceiued. Why, thinkest thou? because it is that diuine force, which is present in all thy thoughts, actions, vertues, vices; to those a fauourer and a commender, to these euerm
present

present though as a secret, yet as most seuer ac-
cuser.

This thou mayst vnderstand to bee not one of
the least arguments of Diuinitie: Therefore (O thou
solde man) if thou leanest that way, thy soules; if
that way thou standest firme; thou wilt also be more
equall and indifferent, to that which thou callest
death, and wise men call the ende of miserie?
Thou wilt (to conclud) so perswade thy selfe, that
when thou shalt be sent from hence, thou shalt bee
receiued there: so that thou goest that way, where
thou shalt be known as a Citizen, and a heauenly
inhabitant.

From hence also thou mayst vnderstand that
mortall things doe little pertaine vnto thee: seeing all
the vse of them belongeth to thy body: The body ser-
ueth the mind; which vseth these no further the is fit
to keepe her dwelling vndesolued, vntill she be com-
manded to forsake it; For surely this which we call
life, is nothing els, but the way of the traueiling soule
that goeth to his own Country. And all these which
incounter him in this life, are but as prouisiō for this
great journey, and foode to nourish the body, whilst
it is the chariot of the soule. But to conet these things
too vehemently; to stay gazing and admiring these
thinges by the way and so to forget that place wher-
vnto we goe, it is not the work of the soule, but of the
body. not of a man, but of a beast, for it is certain that
man in respect of his soule, is a God, & in respect of
his

his bodie is a wilde beast. And therefore the longer the soule dwelleth in the bodie, his worke is so much the harder. And his praise the greater, if it suffer not it selfe to bee infected with the contagion of it. Yet I do not say that any man vncommanded must goe out of his standing, but when he hath leaue and is called for.

And when he is cited and sent for to appeare, then if hee be slowe, then if hee bee vnwilling to goe, if hee complaine, if hee strue against it, if hee suffer himselfe to bee drawne, surely hee is ignorant of himselfe, what hee is and of his owne good.

What? Hee betrayeth himselfe by his owne ill confession, hee maketh fetters to tye himselfe, and for euer hee is excluded from that felicitie, without which a man is nothing but a receptacle of miseries.

Now see what is thy iudgement of thy selfe, who so much fearest death: thou canst not plainly show that there is more earthly matter in thee, that is claye, filth, impuritie, then there is man: that is then soule, then celestiall substance. The soule in the bodie is as a stranger in an Inne: it is the part of an inconsiderat and vnwise man to goe vnwillingly out of his Inne, in respect of some object of the throat or the belly: To conclude, it is the point of an vnskillfull man, and of one that thinkes little of his owne safetie, with the behoulding of earthly things

things to forgoe heavenly: seeing then that in death there is so much good, dost thou blame thy olde age which hath brought thee to so great a good.

Why dost thou not rather lay aside this voluntary blindnes, and this so carefull a frowardnes, & looke at the light? why dost thou not acknowledg this same excellent gift, or rather seruice of this old age, which bringeth thee so neare so excellent a good? Oh sticke no longer in these sands, pull out thy selfe as speedely as thou canst; shake of these lettes, breake in sunder these hinderances: call the assistance of thy ancient and former minde: stirre vp thy learning: bend the force of thy witte, call vpon the holy spirit, bee carried aboue thy senses, awake thy selfe, to giue God heartie and immortall thanks: esteeme his so many benefits in thy mind; expresse them all in thy words, in thy countenance, in thy gesture, in imitation, in example, then thou shalt learne by little and little, that thou oughtest seriously to reioyce, that the time of thy human mortality is come to an end: that the time of thy earthly aboad is expired; that the ende of thy sinning is at hande, that mortall hopes are cut of, and that heavenly hopes are augmented, and increased: surely when thou cammest from thy childhoode to bee a youth, thou beganest to scorne all those things which did please thy childhoode: then being a man I thinke thy wishes were much wiser then in thy youth: to conclude, in thy olde

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age, thou seest all the desires of the former ages to be quenched, as hotte burning yron in cold water, what doest thou learne from hence? Doubtles that there is nothing of such value, in any part of this life, wherewith thou oughtest so to bee delighted, that thou shouldest wish to carrie in it, but that there is an other life, which who so entereth truly may say

My wishes ende, I have attained

All good enough, my life hath gaynd

A Citizen of heauen, I am decreed,

Thus all my wishes I exceede.

For there shalt thou be a possesser of thy selfe in securitie; there shalt thou be an everlastig fountaine of thy owne good to thee, vnto thy selfe, there shall be from thy selfe, an overflowing greatnes of ioy (yet whereof thou art capable) there what thou shalt bee, thou shalt euer be, and be willing to bee; thou shalt not desire the prayles of men, as hauing exceeded human mediocritie; and who are nowc heaped with heavenly felicitie: for as the shadow here followeth the body, so there glorie shall followe thee, there thou shalt swell with no desires, there thou shalt be leane with no thoughts; there thou shalt wast & pine with no affections; thou shalt not be sollicitous with hope or feare; thou shalt not bee disquieted with any rumors; no gaires can make thee more happie; no losses can make thee lesse; thy

False Complaints, &c.

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thy immortalitie shall continue in the same state; thy
life shall bee a perpetuall tranquillitie, and that
(which is the perfection of all felicitie) it shall
be a continuall sight, and contem-
plation of thy maker.

CHAP. 12





*Of those that are vnthankfull
unto men.*

CHAP. 29.



hitherto haue I proceeded with all the diligence and care I could, to repell those darts which the vnthankfull mind throweth against God: to these of ours, let any man adde whatsoeuer, he is guiltie of himselfe, neither can I or any man els expresse those things, for they are placed in the lowest bottome of the mind, where lyeth secret all that poyso which mans impudencie, vttereth against God, euery man as he inwardly searcheth himselfe, shall finde it, hee only who is the seer of hearts, and also the measurer of times, and the vmpire of thoughts: and to whome all secretes are open,

open; apprehendeth the impurities of an others brest, these which we haue set downe which either may be learned by reading, or touched and knowne by experience; it is fit the Readers should take in good part.

Those that are more speciall, and more secret are left to euery man himselfe; it is sufficient for me, to haue shewed those thinges, wherein men in this kinde most vsually offend; furthermore least I should permit by negligence any thing that appertaineth to this subject; I will in one word set downe those, which by this worst vice delude the society of man, the fault of an vngratefull mind, although it sticke fast by the rootes of every vice, yet as I thinke it raketh chiefly his increate, and nourishment, from folly, conetousnesse, and pride. For the vnthankfull person, neither acknowledgeth the benefits receiued; neither regardeth him that gaue them; but him that is ready to giue, wherfore hee is, hee findeth him out and hangeth vpon him. He gapeth after things, soone heard, desired, hoped. Hee accounteth him of whom he hath receiued a benefit, as a creditor, whose name hee blotteth out as not being minded to pay him. Surely in that he thinketh, that he ought him a benefit, which gaue him one and was not in his debt, hee is a foole, hee that neither repayeth nor thinketh of repaying that which hee hath receiued, is the robber of an other, and the lordly miser of his owne, and in that hee

doth not acknowledge them, he is proudly malicious and maliciously forgetfull. Therefore an vnthankfull person (howsoever hee wickedly dissembles) dooth know that hee hath receiued a benefit, but hee taketh the thanks from it that is due vnto it, and either passeth it all ouer with silence, and dawbeth ouer the memory of it, or impudently denyeth the fact. I say, denyeth either by dissembling by wordes or in deede; neither dooth the memory of an vngratefull person so much faile him, as his vnluckinesse, maliciousnesse, and dissembling ouerruleth him, which he himself denies not, by often saying, *many sacrifice, but fewe are heard* from hence there spring many kindes of vnthankfull persons, some require a benefit as they thinke but secretly, and as fearing least it should appeare, so carefull they are, least any man should see it, neither are they so much ashamed to require it, as to confesse that good turne, which to confesse they ought not to bee ashamed; of this kinde are those for the most part who are bound to their inferiours; to these I may ioyne those who are bound for those giftes, whereby they are more wise, and more learned, yet either they returne some small thing, for so great a benefit (and with much a doe) or looke a squint or not at all, at those by whom they are enriched with those benefits which cannot be requited either with gold or siluer, and if peradventure they do acknowledge the benefit, they so frame theselues, that they seeme
not

not to repay it: But to bestow as it were some benefit vpon their inferiours: like to these are those which either contemne, or hate their Schoole Masters, and those whom they haue had as instructors and informers of their young yeares; by all these for the most part a benefit is so requited, that a man had rather not haue it requited at all. In this kinde often and very greatly Princes offend towards men painefull and industrious; such as are most obsequious vnto them; thus often, Generallles, and Captaines offend towards souldiers of excellent vertue; and the lesse and inferiour persons are not in this kinde lesse froward; then those great and mighty, whilst they often swell, and are puffed vp more then either they know or can performe; and whilst they doe admire their owne and odiously extoll them, the bounty of others dooth grow vile and base with them; surely though they be wittie and learned, yet they are swelling and arrogant, and indeed unthankfull; and euill interpreters of an other mans liberality. Of this kind was *Lentulus*, he whom *Augustus* had drawne from the Courts and pleading, to great riches and honour; yet found him vnthankfull, for hee was not afraide to say, that the Emperour had not bestowed so much vpon him, as he lost by pleading, & the vse of his eloquence. Amongst vnthankful persons I reckon him who is thankful for feare, for he feareth that in his doubtful estate, he shall be forsake if he be not esteemed for some recompence, and the significatiō
of

of a gratefull minde . Others require a benefit in some part , but it is of an other mans , whilst in the meane time they spare their owne.

These vnderstand not that there is scarce any requittall of thanks, but with some coste , nay not without the helpe first of vertue, then of our wealth , and our increasing happinesse (others and these are men of an euill disposition) with euill to those, of whom they haue receiued a benefit, that in the misery of an other they may haue occasion to be found thankfull. Neither doe they this so much to helpe him that needeth his helpe , as laying aside all conscience, for a vaine rumour of glory . Others (whilst they are ouer desirous to seeme thankfull) they fall into that vice which they shun; and which exceedingly they hate in others : they are sory (they say) for the least thing to be bound either to this man or to that; they are so impatient for the receiuing of a benefit, that as ouerloaden with some great burdē, they are presently desirous to lay it off, these whilst they cannot indure to sustaine the benefits of others show plainly that they will no way haue other be beholding to them: others presently return the thing they haue receiued or the like value , as a debtor doth gold or siluer, they dare bestowe nothing besides the principall. These in giuing backe againe that, which they haue receiued , or some thing of the same value, doe not requite a benefit; for seeing euery requittall of a benefit, is rather the thanks
of

of the minde, then of the thing, hee that requirerh not a thing giuen, with the same thankfull minde that it is giuen, doth not requite a benefit.

From hence it followeth, that hee which dooth not requite a benefit, because when he would, hee cannot, is often thankfull; whereas he that requirerh it not with thy minde, is euer vnthankfull. Others slowly and sluggishly requiting a benefit, requite it not at all; for with these a benefit dooth so wither, that by degrees it vanissheth away; these Saint *Ambrose* pronounceth to bee vnthankfull, as all those who expect to be called vpon to requite a benefit receiued; others in requiting an old benefit, expect a newe, neither doe they know how to giue any thanks, but such as haue hooks in them; which what way soeuer they are applyed, they euer catch something. This is the Courtiers manner to insnare the liberality of others, in this deceitfull kinde of thanks; and with this minde, speake of the old benefits, to gaine new and much greater by it. Thus they banish benefits out of the society of men, and instead of benefits, bring in a deceitfull gaining kind of trafficke, and plaine filthie basenesse, wherewith the honesty of all benefits is blemisht. Hee also is vnthankfull whome thou hast not tyed vnto thee with thy benefits, nor giueth thee no thanks for them, but requirerh them with euill wordes, and to these addeth also euill deeds.

Thus he hateth him to whome hee oweth mo

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of a debtor; and one that is bound, he becommeth an enemy, euer quarreling, inurious, full of brawling, threatening, and reuenging. This worst kind of men (from whom there is nothing to be reaped but a haruest of much euill) one resembleth to a ramme which often butteth with his hornes at him that is higher; I should rather thinke such a one to be that Wolfe, of which was made the Greeke Epigram, which I haue assayed to translate word for word:

Feede the wolfe, with milke (against my will)

But so my shepheard needs will me commaunde,

Fed with my milke, he scarcely doth me kill:

For kinde no kindnes is able to withstand.

This kinde of vnthankfull persons, the wise man noteth in these words; he that rewardeth euill for good, euill shall not depart from his house. Like vnto these are they to whom we must giue thanks (and against our wils) for iniuries and reproches that are done vnto vs; Of this kind are these cruell heades, tyrants, dissemblers, framed to arrogancy, cruelty, and impiety, who in the midst of sacreledge and slaughter, according to their clemency and good nature bestow wicked and cruell fauours; at the enuy whereof they blush not, but amongst their sighes & grones, are content to suffer flattering thanks to be bestowed vpon the, & find praile in traitous offences.

To

To conclude they thinke it meete not onely to haue
 thanks but to receiue giftes from those whom they
 haue spoyled. Neither haue Princes only this great
 and heauie hand, but others also, such a one did
Marcus Calius describe *Appius Claudius* to bee,
 writing to *Marcus Tullius*, in these words. I am a-
 shamed to confesse vnto thee, and to complaine
 of the iniuries of the most vngratefull man *Appius*,
 who beganne to hate me because he ought me ma-
 ny good turnes, and when that miserable man could
 not command himselfe to pay them, he made open
 warre with mee: wisely and after his manner (sayth
Tacitus) benefits are so long acceptable, as that there
 is hope they may be requited; but when they be-
 ginne to excede for thanks, they reape hatred;
 These are the wayes so farre as I knowe whereby
 men are for the most part vnthankfull; that is euill
 deceiuers of benefits receiued; In which vyce (as
Cicero sayth) there is no vyce wanting; Doubt-
 lesse there is none a greater enemy to humane socie-
 tie. By this meanes mutuall charitie is extingui-
 shed, the hope of mutuall helpe is cut off, and all
 the traffick of humanitie and kindnesse is stopt. For
 the going and coming of thanks being taken a-
 way, those whom thou seest, are no more men, but
 wilde beasts in the shape of men, euer rauening that
 which is neereest vnto them. The vnthankfull person
 is an enemy of all men; nay of all humanity it selfe:
 hee is a gulfe that draweth all thinges vnto him,

without respect of any but of himselfe, It may wholly bee dispaired that there should be any intercourse of humanity with him, who admitteth no interchange either of thinges, or wordes: For as there is no greater argument of loue and courtesie then ingeniously to receiue, and to giue thanks: so there is no surer signe of a very crooked nature, then to bee vnthankfull: those that haue called an vnthankfull person, a tunne that is bored through, because it holdeth nothing, but all is lost that is put into it, In my opinion they haue faide little what he is: He is I know not what worse thing, a plague, a poyson, those are more significant in my opinio which haue giuen to the vnthankfull person, the ewe tree for his badge, a tree sad and vnluckie, full of hurtfull fruite (if those poysoned berries may be called fruite) and a deadly shadowe, nay antiquity did account this vice so odious that the Latins did not thinke it worthy to haue a name, besides what maruaile is it, if as there is no man so hurtfull to all, so there bee no man so hated of all as hee that is infected with this vice.

There is nothing sayth *Plautus* more burdensome then an vnthankfull person. It is much better that thou shouldest bee euer bountiull, then vnthankfull; For the good will commend him, but this euen the badde themselves will dispraise. VVee haue that same excellent speech of *EANETS* to *AVGVSTVS*, taking it impatiently

impatiently that it was not in his owne power, nor to be vnthankfull.

This one iniurie (saith he) Caesar thou hast done vnto mee, that I liue and die vnthankfull. All which things though they be verie true, and that it is certaine that there is nothing a greater enemie or more odious then an vnthankfull person, yet wee must not hate them, but blame them, and amend them, least peraduenture we haue our selues. For who is there if hee looke more truely, and more seuerely into himselfe, that is not prone vnto this vice? who is there that loueth not himselfe, so much that almost he despiseth all others? Who is there so vpright, that leaneth not this way? The greatest men oftentimes, and such as were the conquerors of other vices (if this were not wanting vnto them) are triumphed over, of this fault only; neither is this the staine and blemish of particular persons, and men vnlearned, but of the most and most skilfull: yea (which is more strange) of all, and often of those who are much esteemed for their excellent wisdom. The Senat of Rome is said vnthankfully to haue requited the first builder of their City: nay, Rome it selfe was held most vnthankfull to *Camillus* and *Scipio Africanus*, the two greatest and worthyest pillars of that Empire. Surely these are said to be the words of *Africanus*: *O vngratfull Countrie, thou shalt not inioye so much as my bones.* Hee might truely exclaime:

Punishment

*Punishment is all that triumph gaines,
And doth our Conquests merit only staines?*

The Carthagians were not free from this fault, when as they gaue *Zantippus* the *Lacedemonian* captaine, for taking of *Regulus*, an honorable reward, but secretly to the marriners to bee drowned. An vngratfull minde in the men of Carthage, could not indure that the *Lacedemonians* should gaine the honor of this taken enemy. The Prophet *Esay* that seuerer rooter vp of impietie, in the verie beginning of his Prophecie, in plaine termes vpbraideth the *Iewes* with their great vnthankfulness; the ox knoweth his owner, and the Ass his maisters cribbe, but *Israell* hath not knowne, my people hath not vnderstood. Thus God by *Ezechiel* reprooueth the great vnthankfulness of *Hierusalem*, *Ezech. 16*. Wisely saith *Simmacius*, it is neuer sure nor safe for a Commonwealth to be vnthankfull. It is truly also saide of *Marcus Aurelius* (that wise and most experienced Prince) that two things especially are to bee obserued of a Prince, *not to reuenge his enemies, nor to be vnthankfull toward his frendes*. As it is true in priuate persons, so that common saying is most true in Princes: *The earth yeeldeth not any thing worse, then an vnthankfull person*. Here it is fit to admonish all not to detract from their bountie, by reason of the ingratitude of any, nay rather let him desire to bee esteemed a man beneficiall, because this vertue lieth contemned; especially in this age which hath scarce
less

left any place either for benefits or thanks. Let him thinke that the greatest reward of this vertue, is in the vertue it selfe. Therefore let him not require thanks for a pleasure done: For thanks perish as soone as they are required; nay the only remembrance of a benefite, is an vpbayding, no lesse hatefull in the giuer, then forgetfulnesse in the receiuer. It is a ridiculous leuine to suffer the occasions, and matters of well doing to perish; because the benefite with some one man hath perished: Nay, if any where, then here we must be constant; For the first vertue continueth not vnlesse thou adde a second to it: For thou canst scarce defende former benefits; but with following benefits, In giuing and receiuing of benefits, we must not euer follow which way thinges lead vs, but what way reason counselleth. It is of so much value saith (*Seneca*) to finde one thankfull, that thou must prooue euen those that are vnthankfull. Therefore let euery one do this, whilst he giueth former benefits, to thinke of those which must be giuen after,

CHAP. 11



Of the punishment of vnthankfull persons.

CHAP 27



THe greatest punishment of an vnthankfull person is in the faule it selfe. No infamy may bee compared with that which springeth from thisaine. Neither is there any punishment so cruel as to be called, and to bee accounted vnthankfull; this, though it be true, yet *Seneca* saith that amongst the *Macedonians* there lay an action of plea against vnthankfull persons: and other graue writers affirme that there haue beene Iudgements giuen against this kinde of men. Others prosecute this fault with the most

most grieuous kinde of punishment: killing the vnthankfull person by nayling him through the necke to the earth with a stake. Surely *Amianus Marcellus* reporteth, that the *Persians* had most seuerall laws, amongst which the cruelllest were against those who were vnthankfull, or had sayled their frendes.

Thus amongst the *Hebrewes*: sonnes that were vnthankfull to their parents were stoned to death: *Phillip*, King of Macedon branded with a marke that souldier that was vnthankfull; amongst the *Athenians* the bondman conuicted of his parron, was deprived of the right of freedome. By the ciuill law, Donations bestowed vpon vnthankfull persons, were reuerfed. Sonnes for this fault were disinherited. hee that was at libertie, was called into the gouernment of his father: the vassall looseth his free farme: Amongst other nations (I know not whether more wisely) there was no lawe (at all) made against vnthankfull persons:

For seeing the valew of a benefitte can scarcely be esteemed, and of an vncertaine thing the valuation is vncertaine, it is thought sufficient to punish him that is vnthankfull with the hatred of men, and to referre him vnto God the seuerer reuenger. Let this action cease saith *Seneca*, because a good turne must be done without hope of recompence, for it is the debt of honestie. Which if it be true (as it is) if any man be called into iudgement for a benefit receiued,

and not requited, it ceaseth to be a benefite, and the thing is made a debt. For all thanks of a benefite as soone as there is mention of paying, utterly perissheth: for the reason is farre vnlike (saith Tully) betwixt a debt of mony, and a debt of thanks.

CHAP





Euerie benefit receiued ought to be requited, and how it may bee.

CHAP. 31.



Therto we haue laboured to make plaine what impietie against God, what wickednes against man, and how much inhumanitie is in an vnthankful minde: I haue also taught that those acceptable and fruitefull thanks which only God accepteth of vs, is a sincere and a religious minde; namely that mortalitie should (at least) reuerently worship that sacred power which it cannot recompence with any benefit, and whose benefittes hee cannot value how great they are, that him he should reuerence with all dutie and honour: not in vnlike manner are men to bee required. First

I say, that whatsoeuer the state is wherein wee are, in that we are neuer deprived of the abilitie of thankfulness; if with all our vnderstanding bee not taken from vs: for the first steppe of a thankfull minde, is no such thing as there neede much labour to performe it, for it is nothing else, but presently to acknowledge the benefit, presently to be bound by it, to professe the thing not dissemblingly, but as it is indeede, to confesse how much thou hast receiued, of what kinde, and of what kinde of giuer, by what occasion, how fit for thy affaires; in how fit a time and place, how bountifully, with what facilitie in the giuer, and with what profit to the receiuer, neither otherwise can they be both made alike. To conclude, so to thinke, and thus or in the like manner to speake to him, of whom we haue receiued a benefit: as longe as I liue, I shall neuer thinke that I haue returned thanks: no not though I trie all meanes, neither I beseech you doe you thinke so: Your benefite shall euer remaine firme in my minde: that which you haue giuen, you account a small thinge, but I finde that to be great which I haue receiued: besides how great must I needs thinke it bestowed, without my desert, to obtaine which, I vsed no begging, no cost, no labour, no flattery, no boldnesse: besides you vsed no art, to make mee intreate more earnestly, you cutte of all those thinges which might hinder or weaken my hope: of your owne accorde you haue euer bestowed that excellent benefite

benefit vpon me ; you turned the modesty of my wishes into confidence , my confidence into effect ; and hauing yet receiued nothing , yet you expect nothing ; so that I cannot tell whether your bounty were greter in giuing , or your modesty in expecting : surely if I can perform nothing else , yet I will do this , that the benefit which exceedeth my ability to requite , by my thankfulnesse you shall euer haue cause to remember : although I know that I am more bound vnto you then I can speake ; and because I haue nothing wherewith to giue thanks , I will onely wish and desire God to performe it for me. Doubtlesse hee that speaketh thus , although he hath not giuen any thing , yet he hath requited the benefit , when as often times hee that hath giuen much , yet hath done nothing , and is vnthankfull. For all the estimation of a benefit (as we haue spoken before) is referred vnto the minde : not vnto that which is either giuen or receiued , not to the vulgar estimation of men , which often-times misconstrueth things , nor to the profit either reaped or hoped for from the benefit : and as we haue said that a benefit is one thing , and a debt an other , so here wee must distinguish the matter of thanks and reward , benefit and debt : of him who is a debter for a good turne , and of him who is debter for money lent , hereupon it followeth , that it is in euery mans owne power , how vnthankfull hee is , for as soone as thou shewest that thou hast gratefully receiued a benefit , thou hast re-

quired it; ſtudy to be thankfull and thou art thankfull. For as ſoone as ſincerely thou haſt but thought of requiring a benefit, thou haſt required it. Look at that which he looked at that gaue it, he that hath giuen a benefit hath filled both the ſides of the leaſe; both of the layings out, and the receits. If thou returneſt a benefit with the ſame mind that thou haſt receiued it, thou art thankful, if thou needeſt none to put thee in mind, if thou be admoniſht of thy owne conſcience; thou haſt obtained the praiſe of a thankful perſon; thou haſt adorned thy thanks with all the ornaments of beauty; laſt of all, thou ſheweſt that thou art brought vp in the company of thoſe moſt thankful graces; whoſe Trinity-wiſe antiquity made to be the badge of a thankfull mind. The next ſtep of a thankfull mind, is, that he which is ſo affected perform indeed that which he thus thinketh: to this purpoſe, that he ad al the means & the indeuours that he can, and the greater & more acceptable that the benefit is which thou haſt receiued, ſo much the more ſoone and more cheerefully ſeek occasion, and being offered take occasion to require it; leaue nothing vnattempted to ſhew thy ſelfe thankfull, ſo let euery man perſwade himſelfe, that as it was needfull to receiue the benefit, ſo it is no leſſe needfull to require it. In one word, whoſoeuer thou art, feare God, reuerence the iudgments of men, free thy ſelf from thoſe puniſhments which remain for vnthankfull perſons, know that humanity is contained in the intercourſe of

of benefits, this being taken away, al right & honesty is vtterly ouerthrown, as much as in thee lieth (who-
soeuer thou art) defend and maintaine this whereof
God, nature, and necessity is an author to thee.

These paines Right Honorable I will inlarge no
further, although I am not ignorant that much more
might be spoken of it, which I know is performed of
most learned & most eloquent men, who before me
haue trauailed with cōmendations in this argument,
but as euery man followeth his own spirit, so I doubt
not but I shall obtaine pardon of you, & of all those
into whose hands this labour shall come, if being
content with these few things I cut of all other su-
perfluous, intricate and by wayes; I know that those
delight more, but in these which I haue vsed, there
is more strength; peraduenture more authority
and credit, and if any thing in this bee preter-
mitted by mee, it is fit that hee that obserueth so
much, should supply himselfe, out of those euerla-
sting fountaines both old and new, whilst we
in the meane time doe meditate
something of more
worth.

Laus Deo

FINIS.

Before being bound (by R. Lunow) in January 1955, this volume was in a vellum forel, probably the original, not sewn but stabbed and stitched. The forel, a worthless fragment of a law-French MS, was shrunken and too flimsy to afford proper protection to the leaves, which had become dog-eared. While it was in sheets I examined it and found it to be as below:

Collation: A-21⁴.

Condition: All pairs of leaves normally conjugate.

22 Jan 55

H. Dawson

This leaf was not originally part of the volume.